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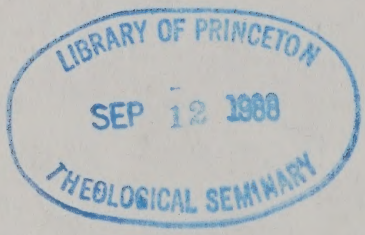

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Minneapolis Churches And Their Comity Problems

By

WILBUR C. HALLENBECK

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS RESEARCH
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INTRODUCTION

The inception of the Minneapolis Comity Survey was in a letter from the Rev. Daniel W. Staffeld, Secretary of the Minneapolis Church Federation, to the Institute of Social and Religious Research, asking what information it is necessary to secure to reach adequate decisions in comity cases.

At the time the letter was received the Institute was engaged in a study of comity as it is being practiced by church federations in American cities, the report of which, written by H. Paul Douglass, is published under the title, *Church Comity, A Study of Coöperative Church Extension in American Cities.* This study did not directly answer the question raised by Mr. Staffeld. It dealt with what comity has accomplished, not specifically with the problem of how comity ought to be practiced. The data of the study consisted primarily in records of specific processes, decisions and results. There was no opportunity to go behind the records to examine directly the actual problems involved in comity cases with which federations were dealing nor the processes used in analysing these problems.

It seemed timely to the Institute, therefore, to make, in a single city, a parallel study of contemporary comity practice that might deal with actual issues, in the expectation that the two simultaneous independent approaches to the problem might make possible a more complete understanding of Protestant comity.

ORGANIZATION

Accordingly negotiations were undertaken with the Minneapolis Church Federation which resulted in a coöperative agreement in accordance with which the Federation undertook to make a survey of a representative portion of the city of Minneapolis. The Institute was to set up the project, furnish technical direction and the major part of the necessary finances, and finally to prepare a formal report after an adequate discussion of the results with the Minneapolis Federation.

In September, 1928, H. Paul Douglass and the writer, both of the Institute staff, worked out the details of the joint study in collaboration with the Minneapolis Federation and initiated the work. The writer remained in Minneapolis until January, 1929, as field director, aided by a supplemental staff of two field and office assistants provided by the Federation. Following the field work to April 1, 1929, the statistical processes were carried out and the report written in New York

with the assistance of a statistician and a secretary. Throughout the field work, as well as during the preparation of the report, the writer was in constant consultation with Dr. Douglass, and in developing the method, making the analysis and drawing the conclusions had the benefit of his wide experience and of his extensive knowledge of the city church.

The agreement of the Church Federation was that the survey should be adopted as a regular part of the procedure of its Comity Committee; that the committee should identify all comity problems then in sight, should recognize such new problems as might be brought to light during the course of the survey, and should attempt to reach conclusions with respect to them on the basis of the data discovered by the survey.

It was specifically stipulated that the Institute was interested in an objective study, not only of the discovery and analysis of the problems of properly churching the city, but also of the reactions of the officially representative churchmen constituting the Comity Committee, which would become data for the final interpretation of the comity situation in Minneapolis.

THE COMITY COMMITTEE

The Comity Committee of the Minneapolis Church Federation was appointed soon after the Federation was organized in 1923. During the period of its activity it has met only when some specific question made it necessary. In the Fall of 1923 a brief set of principles was published which will be referred to in connection with the discussions in the text. The function of the committee has been confined largely to the allocations of new fields upon request of some denominational board or to giving counsel on some problem that was brought to them.

The Committee had never considered the whole churching problem of the city or of a sector of the city; the projection of a plan for proper churching had never been made; nor had the initiative ever been assumed in an effort to change improper churching. This survey, consequently, became a new venture in comity and was undertaken not only with enthusiasm, but with the definite purpose of all concerned to make it the occasion for bettering the churching, at least of the area studied, in every way possible.

The personnel, and the denominations represented on the Comity Committee at the time of the survey were:

Rev. L. H. Bugbee, *Chairman*	Methodist Episcopal
Rev. F. W. Harron	Methodist Episcopal
Mr. R. N. Palm	Methodist Episcopal
Rev. W. H. Harshaw	Presbyterian
Rev. John Connell	Presbyterian

Rev. A. M. MacDonald	Baptist
Dr. E. L. Paulsen	Baptist
Rev. George O. Marsh	Disciples
Dr. G. D. Haggard	Disciples
Rev. J. P. Miller	Congregational
Rev. H. P. Dewey	Congregational
Rev. A. E. Knickerbocker	Protestant Episcopal
Rev. Phillips H. Osgood	Protestant Episcopal
Mr. D. H. Dreeson	Evangelical
Rev. E. R. Purdy	Friends
Rev. L. H. Root	Brethren
Rev. Ambrose Hering	United Lutheran Church
Rev. Dwight H. Schelhart	United Lutheran Church
Rev. Daniel W. Staffeld	Secretary, Church Federation

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The survey undertook to do four things: (1) To determine the facts necessary for an adequate understanding of proper churching in the city. (2) To discover more detailed principles which should be applied if the city is to be properly churched. (3) To correlate the facts and the principles and apply them to the South Sector of Minneapolis. (4) To point out the specific changes in churching necessary to obtain proper churching of the South Sector of Minneapolis. These are the comity problems.

In the light of these aims, the survey was set up to analyse the churching of the sector, including: (1) The study of the sector itself as the place in which the churches do their work; its geography and structure, its growth and development, and its various pertinent characteristics. (2) The study of the population for which the churches do their work: where the people live, how they live, and what kind of people they are; how many people there are now and how many there will be in the future. (3) The study of the churches themselves as the instruments for churching the people of the sector; their relationship to the area, to the people and to one another; their variety, their adequacy, and their outreach.

PROCESSES

The Minneapolis Church Federation through the Comity Committee, Dr. Lucius H. Bugbee, Chairman; the President, Dr. Phillips E. Osgood, and the Executive Secretary, Rev. Daniel W. Staffeld, played the major rôle in the Survey. The committee in conference with the directors determined the scope, process and methods of the survey. Arrangements for coöperation, contacts with individuals and groups, and correspondence were carried out in the name of the Committee.

A special subcommittee to have charge of the survey was appointed which took counsel with the directors at various stages of the work. This committee was augmented by a group of experts in various phases

of city planning and community affairs who were officially appointed and asked to assist as consultants. The experts of this group and the organizations they represented were:

Mrs. T. R. Bowdish	Acting Executive Hennepin County Tuberculosis Association.
Mr. Otto F. Bradley	Executive Secretary, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies.
Miss Fern Chase	Director of Research, Woman's Coöperative Alliance.
Miss Joanna Colcord	Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of Minneapolis.
Rev. William Driscoll	Executive Secretary Catholic Central Bureau.
Mr. A. C. Godward	Executive Chairman Minneapolis Committee.
Mr. Newton H. Hagel	Director of Research, Board of Education.
Mr. Edwin H. Hewitt	President Regional Plan Association.
Mr. A. F. Jacobson	Commercial Surveyor Northwestern Bell Telephone Company.
Mr. F. O. Koehler	General Secretary Y.M.C.A.
Mr. J. F. McDermott	Commercial Engineer Northwestern Bell Telephone Company.
Mr. Herman Olsen	Engineer City Planning Commission.
Miss Helen C. Peck	Executive Secretary Hennepin County Infant Welfare Society.
Miss Anne Skolsky	Executive Secretary Jewish Family Welfare Society.
Miss Auralla Smith	Director of Research, Minneapolis Journal.
Professor E. H. Sutherland	Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota.
Miss Harriet Vance	Executive Secretary Y.W.C.A.

A Preliminary Findings Conference of the Comity Committee was held December 28, 1928, at the close of the field work. At this conference tentative findings and data were presented and the catalogue of comity problems officially recognized. Five continuing committees were appointed: New Areas, Relocations, Consolidations, Adaptations and Extension of Coöperation. These committees continued the study of the problems under their respective classifications and made recommendations at the Final Findings Conference which was held March 7, 1929, when the first formulation of conclusions was offered, including the detailed principles and their application to the recognized problems. These results were also presented and discussed in meetings of several of the denominational church extension boards, at a meeting of the representatives of the major Lutheran synods, and at meetings with the official boards of several churches, as well as at a public meeting.

OUTSIDE COÖPERATION

Minneapolis possessed, and willingly offered, a great amount of data without which the survey would have been impossible. Special appreciation is expressed to the gracious and enthusiastic participation of the consultants and for the invaluable information that was received from the various organizations through them.

CHAPTER I

THE "SOUTH SECTOR" LOCATION

The part of Minneapolis chosen for survey lies south and west of the Mississippi River and constitutes a sector containing about half the area of the city and somewhat more than half its population. For the purposes of the survey, this area has been termed the "South Sector." Its apex, as is shown in Chart I, is at the point where the central business district of the city touches the river; while within the city limits its northwesterly boundary is formed by the Great Northern Railway and its easterly boundary by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway.

The sector extends beyond the city limits to the farther borders of Richfield, Edina and St. Louis Park, three incorporated villages which adjoin the city on the south and the west. Chart I also shows the position of the sector with reference to the whole city and to the metropolitan area.

This particular area was chosen for the study of comity problems in Minneapolis, because it constitutes the most typical cross-sections of the urban situation as represented in that city, and also because it is the most nearly homogeneous area. It avoids all but negligible portions of wards that have more than an average proportion of foreign-born population, as well as the chief districts devoted to heavy industries. On the other hand, it exhibits in essential completeness from the urban center to its circumference the parallel distribution over a large area of the two great types of population that have predominated in Minneapolis, the original English-speaking stock and the Scandinavian American stock. Expanding from the original center of the city, the English-speaking stock has occupied the west side and the Scandinavian the east side of the sector.

Major Characteristics

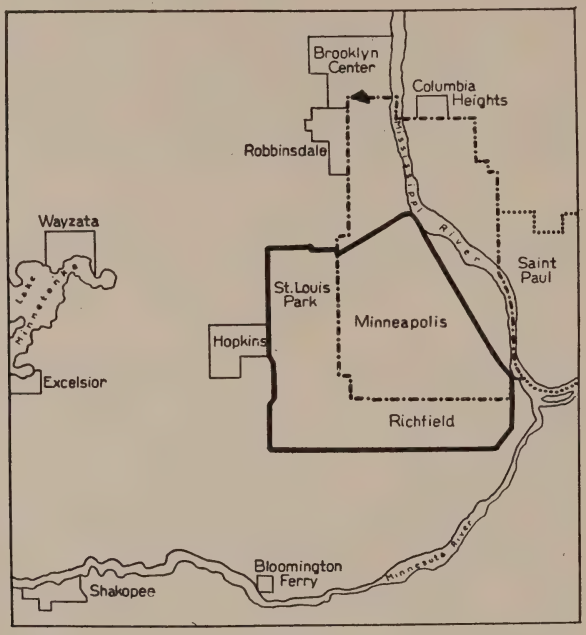
The major characteristics of the sector may be briefly summarized under six heads:

(1) physiography

Within the sector two dominating physical features influence the spread of population. These are a chain of lakes, which stretches from north to south about midway between the center line of the city and the western boundary of the sector, and the Valley of Minnehaha Creek

which, with its adjoining smaller lakes, runs eastward south of the lower end of the chain of larger lakes into the Mississippi River. The city virtually did not cross these barriers in the forty years of its development previous to 1920; and even now only a fifth of the sector's population has gone beyond them.

Another physical feature of importance is the slight elevation called Lowry Hill lying between the center of the city and the head of the



Location of the "South Sector" with reference to the twin cities and the Metropolitan Area

CHART I

lakes, together with the more sharply broken country between the Lake of the Isles and Cedar Lake.

(2) PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

The chain of lakes and the valley of Minnehaha Creek have been turned into a continuous Parkway, thus emphasizing them as elements of the physical structure of the sector. Along the railroads on the north and the east are industries that strongly frame in the sector on

these two sides. The decisive influence of the Lowry Hill elevation has been greatly increased by the relatively large areas of Loring Park and the Parade interposed between it and the business center of the city. Finally, at 29th Street, as is shown in Chart II by the heavy black line south of and parallel with 27th Street, the sector is crossed from east to west by a branch of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway which is paralleled by the virtually continuous commercial development of Lake Street. This pronounced barrier divides the densely populated northern portion of the sector from the area of moderate density lying to the south as far as Minnehaha Parkway. Beyond the Parkway in turn lies the thinly populated zone fading out beyond the city limits into the suburban fringe. In this natural way the city divides itself into zones which will be found to be very significant. These zones are portrayed in Chart II.

(3) POPULATION

There are well over a quarter of a million people living in the area of the sector. The computation of population for 1928 is 264,776.[1] Chart III shows the distribution of this population by Survey Districts and the per cent. of the total population that is resident in each district. In Appendix Table I the distribution of the population for 1920, 1925, 1928, and the estimated population for 1945 are given.[2]

The very unequal distribution of population is evident, and the relative densities of population in the respective zones can easily be observed.

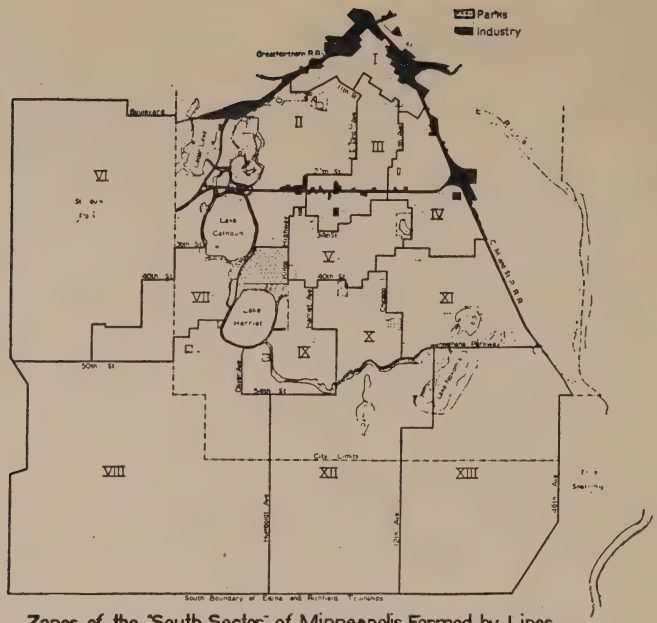
(4) STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Areas of different density indicate progressive stages in the development of a city; and thus a sector of a city is divided into a series of developmental belts or zones from the center to the outskirts. In the South Sector of Minneapolis five major stages are indicated. The characteristics of the central down-town area are self-evident. It is the focus of the city, its most crowded center, but it is a place of declining permanent population because business and industrial structures are gradually absorbing the space formerly devoted to dwellings.

Next below the central district comes the zone of acute transition extending south to the industrial and business belt for which Lake Street furnishes the major axis. The population of this zone is virtually stationary and its social quality—reflected especially in its hous-

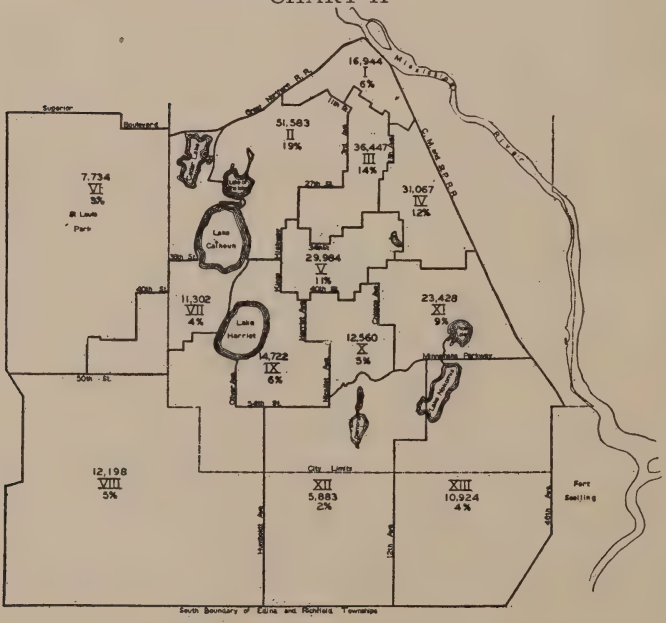
[1]Figures used throughout this study indicate exactness because of careful computations. They are, however, approximate and should be considered as such. The primary value lies in comparisons and correlations.

[2]The paragraph on population in the Appendix, page 101, gives the method of computing the population for the various years and for distributing it to the districts.



Zones of the "South Sector" of Minneapolis Formed by Lines of Parks and Industry

CHART II



Distribution of Population by Survey Districts. Total - 284,776

CHART III

ing—is gradually changing. To the west it is becoming better, as moderate apartment houses take the place of older single-family houses. Along the central axis and toward the east the change is for the worse as an infiltration of retail business and light industry has robbed the area of its residential character, with the consequence that family residences of the older period are being turned into rooming-houses for poor and transient population. The characteristic of the housing is poor repair and deterioration. The district has a generally inferior aspect.

Below the zone of acute transition extending south to the Minnehaha Parkway is the relatively stable residential zone. The area is well occupied with houses. The district is growing moderately and there is still room for some growth without undue crowding. Changes are not striking, and the zone continues on the up grade.

South of the Minnehaha Parkway approximately to the present city limits, protruding somewhat along the radiating railway and inter-urban lines and the major highways, comes the new residential zone. This is a very rapidly growing area; settlement is for the first time in the process of becoming continuous. The physical transformation of the area is very rapid, and the trend on the whole is toward decided improvement.

Beyond this zone lies the suburban fringe, as yet sparsely settled and not ripe for immediate development, but nevertheless destined to belong to the city and even now legally recognized as under its control so far as the layout of streets and facilities for future population is concerned.[3]

These five zones reveal successive stages of urban development as they exist in Minneapolis. These stages are marked by varying degrees of growth, of density of population and of intensity of strictly urban characteristics.

(5) ECONOMIC GRADATIONS

The five zones of development are crossed by radiating sectors which mark different grades of economic prosperity of the population. The eastern sector, with Chicago Avenue as its approximate western limit, has the least wealth. The sector having the chain of lakes as its axis is the richest. Between these two falls one middle-class sector, while another, including most of the area of St. Louis Park, lies west of the rich lake sector.

The sub-sector having the least wealth has the highest proportion

[3]The Minnesota law allows cities to control outside real estate "additions" within three miles of the city limits.

of foreign-born population. With this area the population of Scandinavian antecedents in its expansion from the center of the city toward the suburbs is primarily identified. Here also, along the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, are the chief industries of the South Sector. In contrast, the richest sub-sector is more predominately of English-speaking antecedents. In the middle-class sectors the two stocks are more evenly mixed.

This economic pattern shows clearly the handicap of an immigrant stock contrasted with a native one whose economic development is not only older but also has the advantages of original momentum and the continuous control of the resources of social organization.

(6) SOCIAL QUALITY

Within the South Sector the position of any given area in the scale of well-being is in general in proportion to its remoteness from the crowded and deteriorating zones of the city and to its average wealth. (This statement omits from consideration the outer suburban fringe whose future social character is not yet determined.)

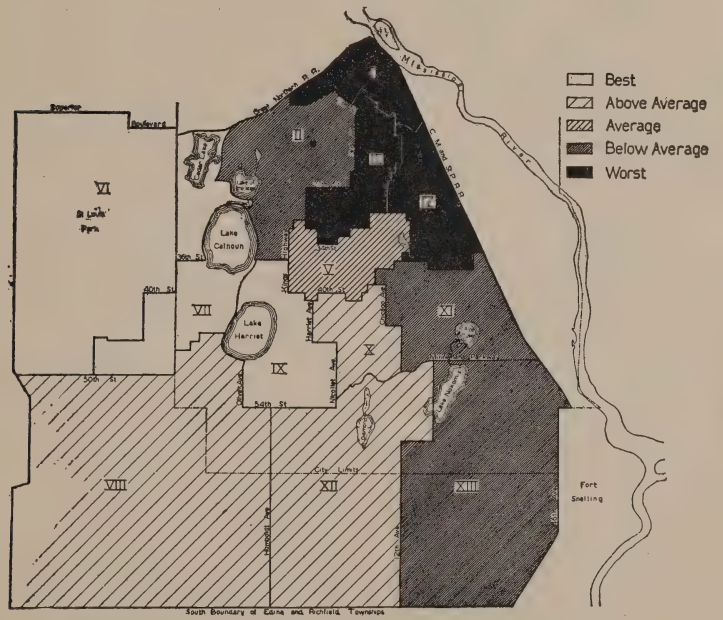
Eight measures of human fortunes have been used in arriving at this rating of social quality: (1) Infant mortality; (2) Juvenile delinquency; (3) Poverty; (4) Transiency and lack of family life; (5) Prevalence of tuberculosis; (6) Frequency of suicide; (7) Undesirable quality of neighborhoods as places of residence on account of the proximity of industries; and (8) Low economic resources. In proportion to the presence of a low per cent. of these phenomena the desirableness of a particular area as a place to live is determined.[4]

The relative standing of the thirteen subdivisions of the South Sector, according to social quality, is shown in Chart IV. The ranking of the districts on each criterion and on the combined criteria is given in Appendix Table II. The three best districts are those around the lakes (districts VI, VII and IX). The next best group immediately adjoins the best group; they include one district (X) located in the heart of the sector, and two outlying districts (VIII and XII). The middle rank goes to district V, which actually holds the central geographical position in the sector and constitutes a link with the districts just below the average (II, XI and XIII) which stretch parallel to the eastern border, while the three districts ranked lowest (I, III and IV) lie together at the apex of the sector and along the railroad and industrial belt.

The standing of the districts on the combined group of social criteria modifies somewhat their strictly economic rank because some of the wealthier districts lie within the zone of deterioration, while some

[4]For the exact definition of the phenomena represented by the above terms and the method of using the criteria in the rating of areas, see page 103.

of the middle-class districts lie within that of rapid improvement. Thus district II, the most distinctly apartment-house section in the city, has high rents and incomes to match. The predominant elements of its population have every convenience for desirable modern living under urban conditions. On the other hand, the district includes much deteriorated housing not yet replaced by apartments. Here social misfortunes are exaggerated for large numbers of transients who live among the more advantageously placed people without sharing their advantages. Districts VI and VIII in turn illustrate areas of middle-class wealth that are in the zone of most rapid progress and that are consequently carried above their economic rank in social quality.



Ranking of Districts by Eight Social Factors

CHART IV

Such then is the South Sector as the stage in which organized religion has to play its part. Here are well over a quarter of a million people to be churched. Their distribution, the characteristics of the several neighborhoods, the economic and social resources of the people and their habits of going and coming within the city, all obviously condition the work of the churches. The effort for coöperative churchman-

ship, going under the name of "comity", has now to be studied against this background.

The Survey Districts

Although its lines were drawn so as to exclude the more foreign and industrial areas of the city, the South Sector is not all alike. Consequently, it becomes necessary to subdivide the area into parts, each as nearly homogeneous as possible, so that the general information secured may provide fair comparisons.

The identification of zones corresponding to stages in the city's development crossed by sectors reflecting economic gradations of the populations, amounts to the marking off of relatively homogeneous subdivisions within a heterogeneous area.

The roughly rectangular figures formed by the crossings of the zones and the sectors show that each stage of development is divided into parts of different economic level. For example, the stable residential zone includes a rich area, a middle-class area and a poor area. Each of these areas is relatively homogeneous. People living within each one experience like living conditions in contrast with those living in neighboring areas on either side.

The actual survey districts devised for the purposes of the present study have already been shown in Chart II. They correspond somewhat closely with the diagrammatic subdivisions. However, they were actually arrived at by a complicated objective study of the entire South Sector in which homogeneous subdivisions were discovered by the use of many criteria. The basic units out of which the survey districts were combined are the elementary public school districts of Minneapolis. School district boundaries form the survey district boundaries with very few exceptions.

Several reasons combined to explain the choice of school districts as practical units. First, they constitute units of annual enumerations of population of school age. Second, the school districts are practical and small units for the gathering of information, and are used as the unit of religious education as administered by the Minneapolis Church Federation. In the third place, a school district, for the most part, is a natural neighborhood of essentially homogeneous character in which children usually of somewhat similar home circumstances go to school streets and traffic lines. Their experience has carved out a set of work-together. In designating the movement of school population the educational authorities have had to consider the various barriers such as railroads, streams and lakes, parks and unimproved areas, and major able neighborhood units which constitutes the most dependable experience of Minneapolis in social subdividing.

The grouping of school districts as wholes or parts into survey districts was made primarily on the basis of three factors: first, similar economic character; second, similar stages of development; and third, the influence of topography and structural features of the city upon the character, spread, and community interest of the population.

In the final process of defining the districts, however, many other factors were taken into consideration, including the influence of zoning; the major street plan; common transit facilities; important institutional and recreational agencies such as branch post offices, theaters, branch banks and small business centers; all of which help to indicate what areas should be districted together.

The survey districts were the chief instruments of the present study. In the test of use they proved to possess a high degree of value for the discovery, discussion and classification of facts related especially to groups of churches. They identified areas presenting essentially homogeneous situations, each one possessing as great a degree of internal likeness and unity as is possible for an area of similar size in a city.

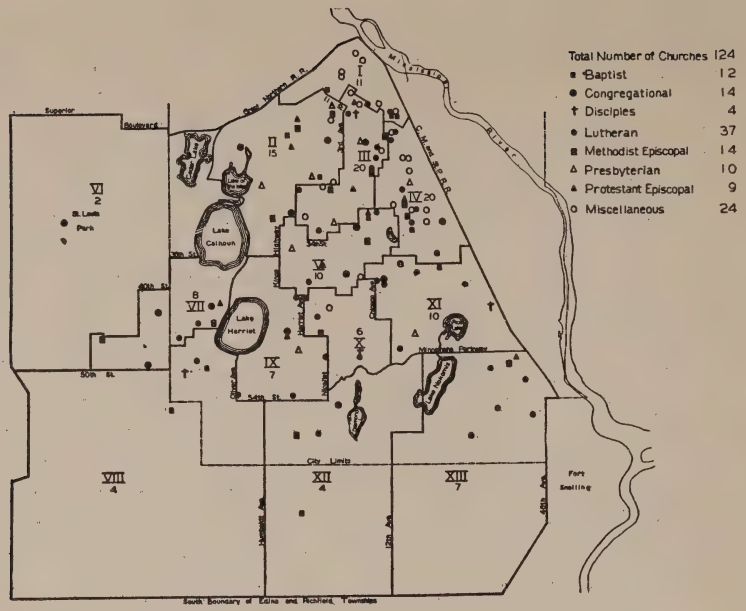
The designations given the several districts either reflect local usage as to names, or are derived from outstanding physical features, and are consequently self-explanatory.

The Churches

The oldest church in Minneapolis and of this sector, the First Presbyterian, dates back to 1835. The 'fifties added nine more churches to this area and that wave of development has been followed by others corresponding to the development of the city. In addition to new churches being born, however, some churches have died and many have moved. A tabulation of this history of the churches by decades is shown in Appendix Table III, which also gives the number and distribution of the churches at the close of each decade.

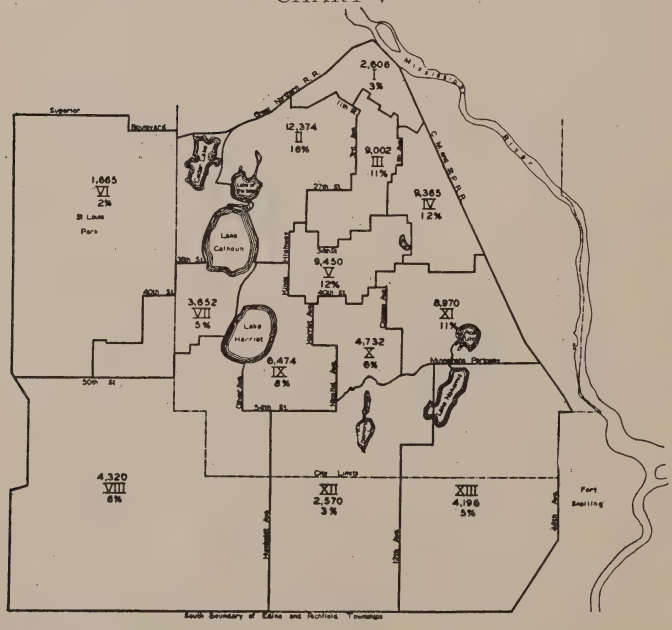
Within the South Sector are located one hundred and twenty-four Protestant churches; five Christian Science churches classified as non-Protestant because they are not coöperative; nine Roman Catholic Churches; and four Jewish synagogues. The Protestant churches represent twenty-seven denominations (counting the Lutherans as one) distributed as follows: Baptist, twelve; Congregational, fourteen; Disciples, four; Lutheran, thirty-seven (Augustana, 9; Eielson, 1; Free, 2; Iowa Synod, 1; Missouri Synod, 4; Norwegian Lutheran, 11; United Lutheran, 8; Wisconsin Synod, 1); Methodist Episcopal, fourteen; Presbyterian, ten; Protestant Episcopal, nine; twenty miscellaneous denominations, twenty-four. Supplementing the recognized Protestant churches, there are three rescue missions and two holiness missions.[5]

[5]For the distinction between churches and other religious organizations, see page 107.



Location of Churches by Survey Districts

CHART V



Distribution by Residence of 79,376 "Accounted for" Protestant Adherents (Including children under 5 years)

CHART VI

The churches are located, and the number in each district indicated, in Chart V. A list of the churches by districts, with the dates of organization, is to be found in Appendix Table IV.

Adherents of Churches and the Unchurched

The accounted-for adherents of the Protestant churches include all those reported by the churches as church-members; Sunday-school pupils (with duplicates excluded); and all others considered by the churches to be adherents, such as members of subsidiary organizations and regular attendants and contributors. To this number was added an estimate for children under five years, distributed on the basis of the proportion of child population to total population in each district.[6] The total accounted-for Protestant adherents, 79,376, are distributed by districts of residence on Chart VI.

The non-Protestant group consists of Christian Science, Roman Catholic, and Jewish adherents.[7] Other religions have small representation in Minneapolis and are virtually negligible in the South Sector.[8] The distribution of the 25,005 adherents of the non-Protestant churches is shown by districts on Chart VII.

Subtracting from the total population the Protestant adherents and the adherents of the non-Protestant churches, a remainder of 160,395 is obtained. This number of the unchurched is distributed by districts in Chart VIII. In Appendix Table V the district distribution of Protestant adherents and non-Protestant adherents by their constituent factors and the unchurched remainder is given.

This remainder constitutes the unchurched in the literal sense. While the majority is Protestant in antecedents, there is an appreciable but undeterminable non-Protestant element. Many—probably most of the unchurched—cherish some sort of a personal religious attitude or conviction. Many were formerly church-members or are now church-members elsewhere. They are in sympathy with the church and think of themselves as counting more or less aggressively on its side. Many of them come to the church in the hour of adversity; some attend more or less regularly; but none of these 160,000 unchurched people are currently accounted for as actively adherents in any faith in the sense that they are definitely related to some of its local congregations.

Behind the problems of church extension with which comity has to deal looms the more fundamental problem of the evangelization of this great majority, nearly two-thirds of the population.

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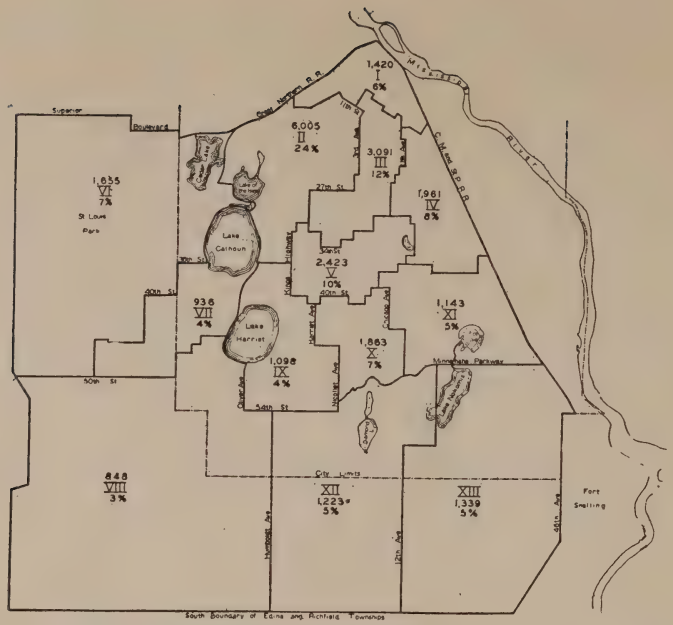
[6]For a description of the method used in securing the data on Protestant adherents, see page 107. The method used in calculating and distributing the estimate for children under five years is given on page 115.

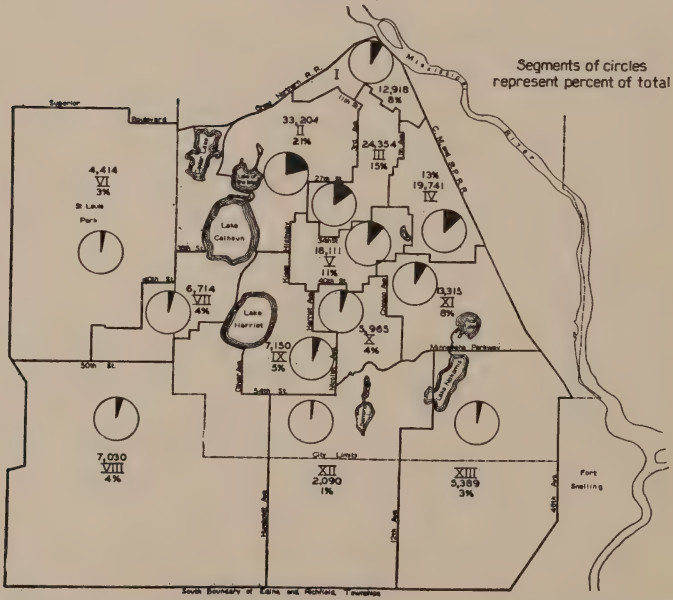
[7]For an explanation of the source of information for non-Protestant adherents, see page 115.

[8]See Appendix Table X, 1926 U.S. Census of Religious Bodies transcript of Minneapolis data.



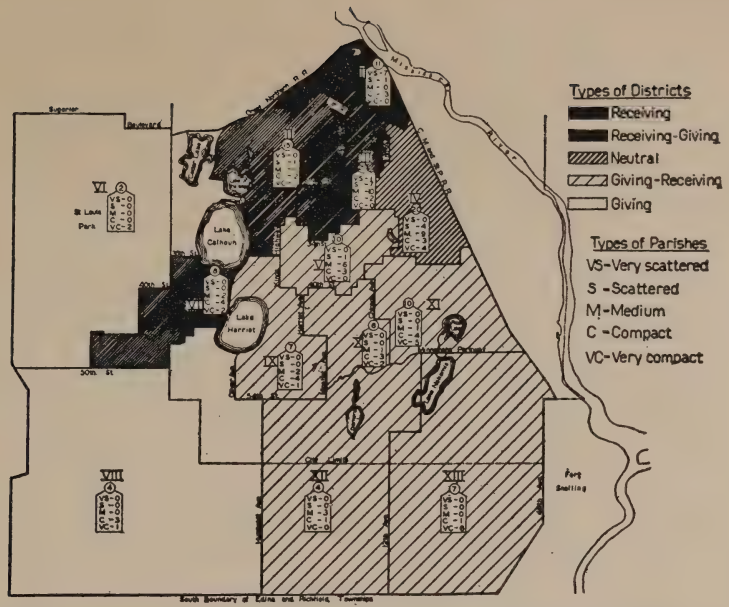
Distribution of 25,005 Non-Protestants

CHART VII



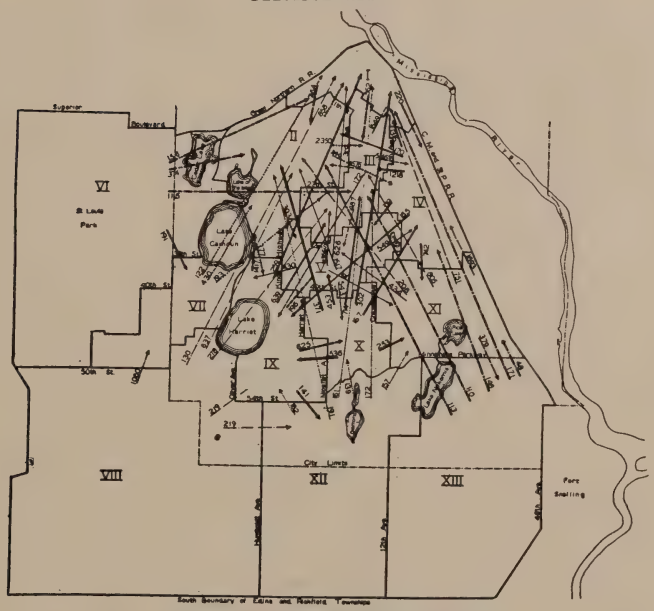
Distribution of Population not Actually Attached to Churches. Total – 160,395

CHART VIII



Characteristic Manner of Churching : Types of Districts and Types of Parishes of 124 Churches, by Districts

CHART IX



Movement of People for Church Going
The Coming and Going of Protestant Adherents

CHART X

Movement of People In Churchgoing

The relationship between churches and people is not as simple as it first appears to be. The majority of people do not attend the churches located near where they live; consequently, it is more significant, in relating the churches to the population, to consider where people go to church than where they live.

TYPES OF PARISHES

The movement of people in their churchgoing creates different types of parishes determined by the distribution of adherents relative to the location of the churches to which they belong and the proportion of adherents drawn from different distances. If a large majority of the constituents of a church live in the neighborhood, within approximately a mile of the church, the parish is considered as very compact. But if far the greater number come from areas more than a mile away, the parish is classified as very scattered. In all, five types of parishes are recognized: very compact, compact, medium, scattered, and very scattered.[9] The type of parish of each of the 124 churches of the sector studied is indicated in Appendix Table IV.

CLASSIFICATION OF DISTRICTS

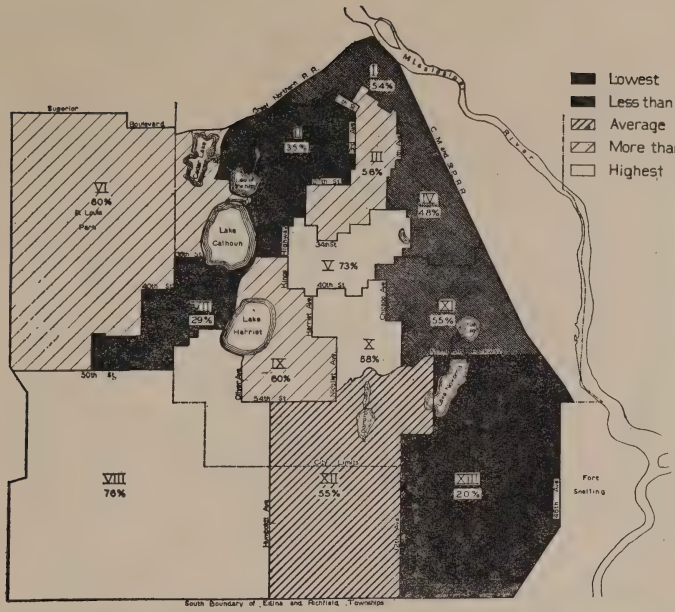
The character of this churchgoing movement has been used to differentiate the districts. The districts in which the churches have more scattered parishes because many people come to them from other districts, are classified by their predominant characteristic, that of receiving people from other districts. In the newer residential areas of the city, churches are planned for neighborhood service, and are not of a character to attract people from a distance, so the parishes are usually compact. Many of the people, however, are likely to go a distance to church, and this giving tendency is generally the characteristic of such districts. According to a scale of ratios between receiving and giving, the thirteen districts are classified as: receiving, receiving-giving, neutral, giving-receiving and giving. Chart IX shows the classification of the districts and the types of parishes of the churches located in each district. The summary of data supporting this classification follows. Details appear in Appendix Table VI,[10]

Kind of District	No. of Districts	No. of Churches	Types of Parishes: Very Scattered	Scattered	Medium	Compact	Very Compact
Receiving	1	11	*7**	1	0	3	0
Receiving-Giving	3	43	1	8	*23*	8	3
Neutral	1	20	0	4	*9*	3	4
Giving-Receiving	6	44	0	1	13	*16*	14
Giving	2	6	0	0	0	*3*	*3*
Total	13	124	8	14	*45*	33	24

*Characteristic type of parish in Italics.

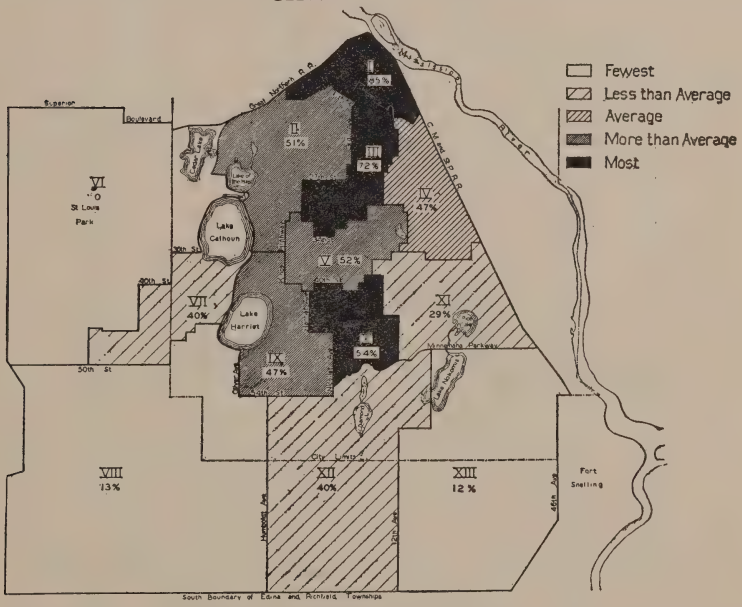
[9]An explanation of the technical process of determining the type of parish is given on page 117 and shown in Chart XXXVI.

[10]An explanation of the method accompanies this table.



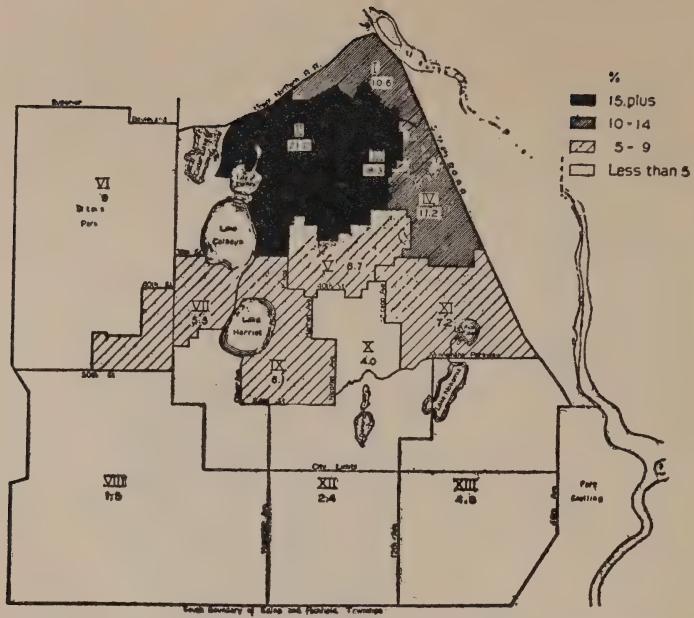
Percent of Church Adherents Resident in Districts who are Churched Outside

CHART XI



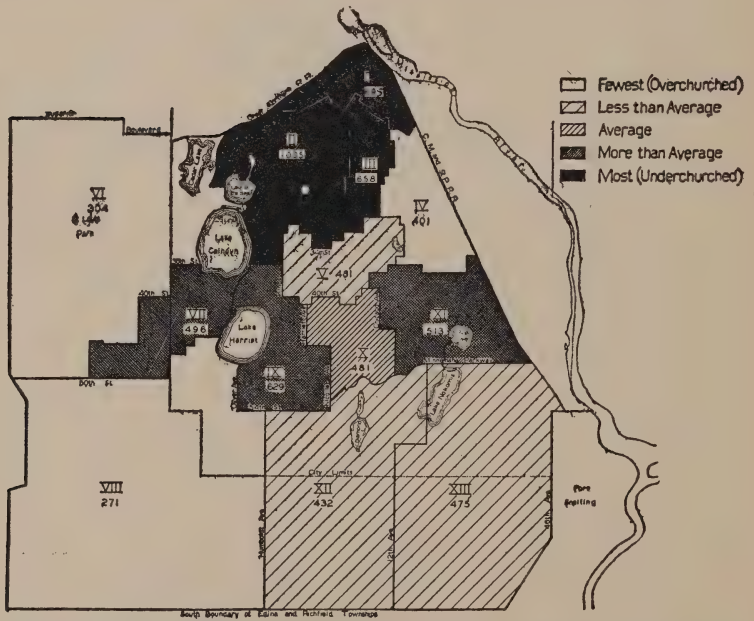
Percent of Adherents Churched in Districts who are received from Other Districts

CHART XII



Percent Distribution of Churched Protestants by District of Churching

CHART XIII



Adherents per Church Attending in Districts, Including both Resident and Incoming

CHART XIV

WHERE PEOPLE GO TO CHURCH

It is a well-recognized fact that down-town churches draw the most people from a distance. The direction of the prevailing movement of the people of the South Sector in going to church is, as would be expected, toward down-town but there are many reverse and cross movements. The direction and distance of this complicated churchgoing movement is shown on Chart X. In Appendix Table VII the place of residence and the place of churching of the Protestant adherents is given.

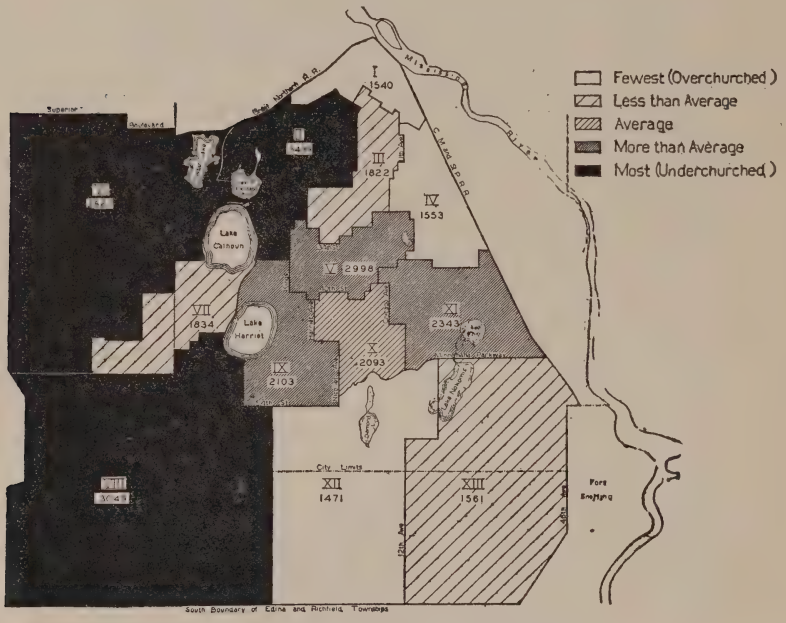
It would be expected that some of the churched people in each district would go outside to church; but 53 per cent. of all the Protestant adherents of the sector go to church in districts other than the one in which they live, that is, they go out of the neighborhood in which the children go to school, in which the men use common transit lines and the women trade at the same groceries. The percentage for each district is shown on Chart XI. The per cent. of the adherents churched in each district but received from other districts is shown on Chart XII. This new distribution of the Protestant adherents on the basis of the district in which they go to church, as shown in Chart XIII, is different from the other distributions, and becomes the most important from the standpoint of the study of churching. The distribution in terms of adherents per church, as a rough comparison of the average strength of the churches of the various districts, is shown in Chart XIV. While a few of the people go just over the line to some adjacent district, probably more go to remote corners of their own district and thus really outside of their own neighborhood. Consequently, in the South Sector of Minneapolis as a whole, the idea of a neighborhood church with an exclusive field within which it serves all Protestants is little better than a myth.

RESIDENT VS. AVAILABLE POPULATION PER CHURCH

If overchurching and underchurching were to be reckoned in the usual way on the basis of resident population per church, the underchurched districts, or those with the largest resident population per church, would be Districts II, VI and VIII; and the overchurched districts, those with the smallest resident population per church, would be Districts I, IV and XII. This is shown in Chart XV.

If where people go to church is more significant to the church than where they live, certainly the responsibility of the church for the unchurched people must be figured with that fact in mind. The unchurched, on the whole, are just the same sort of people in most respects as those who attend church, with similar habits of coming and going in their business and social lives. A good many of the unchurched belong

to family groups attached to remote churches and are much more likely to go with the family, if at all, than to the neighborhood churches. Again, the unchurched include large numbers of socially unattached people. The fact that they are unchurched is one evidence that they are not closely fitted into the social composition of their immediate neighborhoods. This leaves them more accessible to the appeal of the down-town churches. On the other hand, it is of course obvious that



Population per Church by Survey Districts

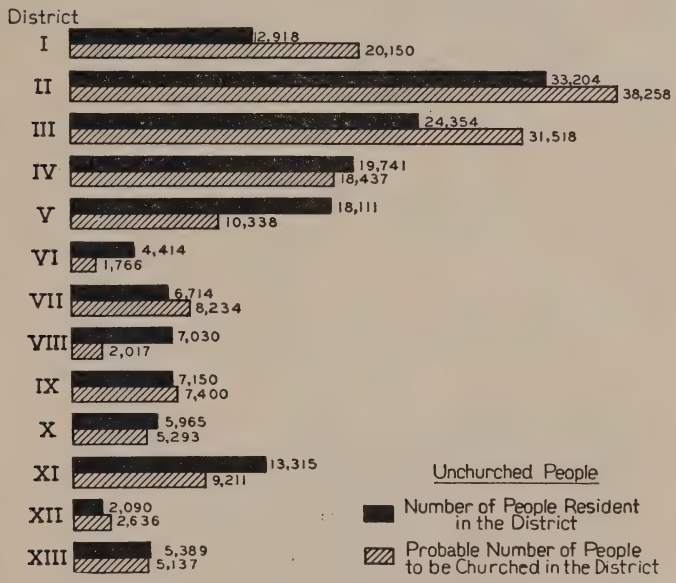
CHART XV

many of the unchurched can be reached, if at all, only by intensive neighborhood cultivation. On the whole, it seems reasonable to assume that if the churches are to reach the unchurched at all they will reach them in about the same way, and draw them along about the same paths, that they have reached and drawn the churched people.

A comparison of the distribution of the unchurched people by the districts of their residence, and the adjusted distribution by the same proportions as the Protestant adherents distribute themselves for churching, is shown in Chart XVI.

Obviously non-Protestant adherents are not available to the Protes-

tant churches; and they must be deducted in this, as they would be in any method of calculating population per church. The adjusted available population per church is then reckoned by adding to the number of Protestants that are churched in each district the calculated number of unchurched who are probably churchable in that district and dividing the total by the number of churches in the district. Chart XVII shows the overchurching and underchurching on the basis of available population per church. There is a decided change from the other reckoning



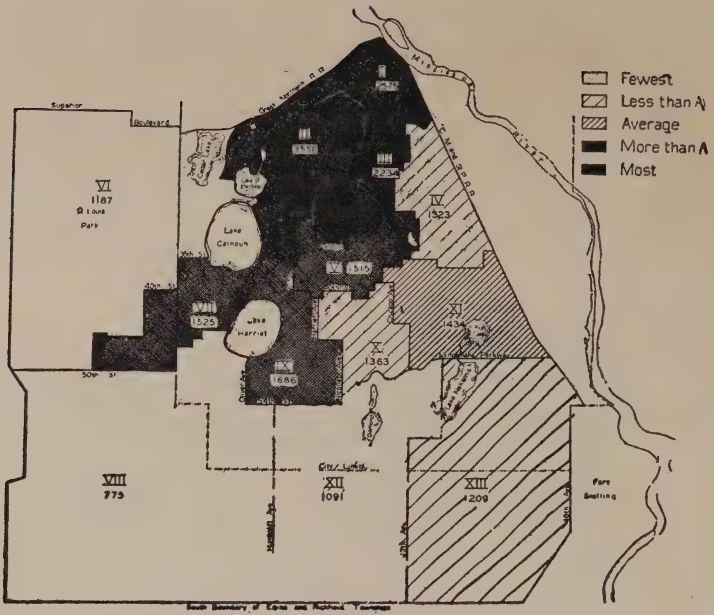
Comparison of the Number of Unchurched People in 13 Districts and Probable Place of Churching of All Unchurched

CHART XVI

shown in Chart XV. Now the underchurched districts appear to be I, II and III, while the overchurched districts are VI, VIII and XIII. A graphic comparison of the resident and available population per church is shown in Chart XVIII. The tabulation of this comparison is in Appendix Table VIII.

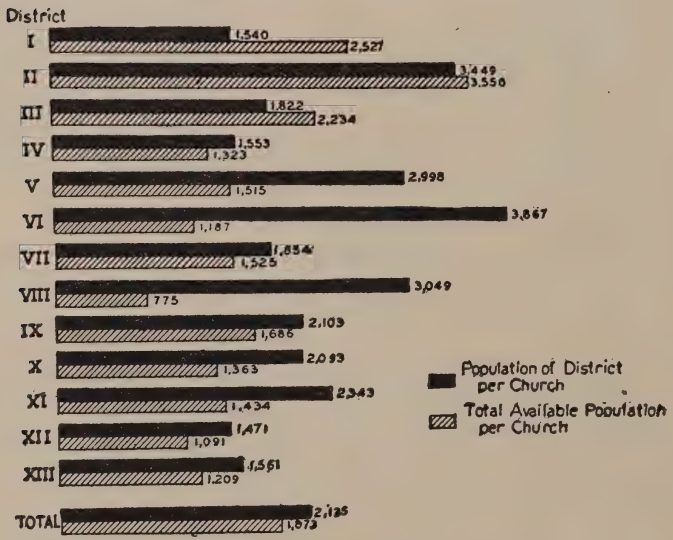
Sufficiency of Churching

Protestant and non-Protestant, only 40 per cent. of the population of the South Sector is accounted for. The relative proportions of



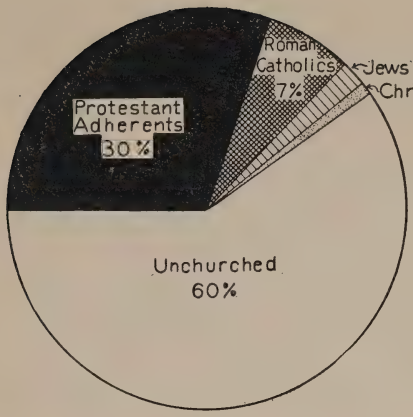
Available Population per Church by Districts

CHART XVII



Comparison of Population of Districts per Church and Total Population Available for Churching by Districts per Church

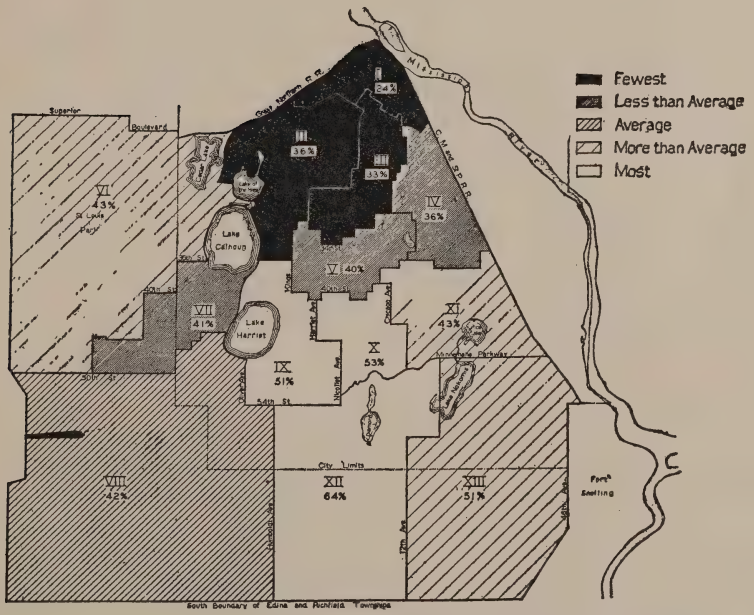
CHART XVIII



Total Population	264,776
Protestant Adherents	79,376
Roman Catholics	19,326
Jews	3,500
Christian Science	2,179

Churched and Unchurched Population

CHART XIX



Percent of Total Population Churched (Protestant and Non-Protestant)

CHART XX

churched and unchurched people are shown in Chart XIX. The proportion varies greatly, however, from district to district. The per cent. churched of the residents in each district is shown on Chart XX; the complementary percentages would indicate the part of the population that is unchurched.

Comity Problems

In the course of the survey specific comity problems had been indicated by the denominational executives and leaders. After these had been classified and accepted by the Preliminary Findings Conference, they were analyzed in the light of the survey data. The final list included twenty-seven problems. Three were proposals for the organization of new churches, five were problems of relocation, eleven of consolidation, seven of adaptation, and one was the problem of disbanding a church.

A very important fact evolving out of the study was that each zone of the sector exhibited a characteristic churching situation marked by a predominant type of comity problem.

Structure of the Survey Report

The three main sections of this report take up respectively the three main zones of the sector from the outlying sections to the center of the city; and each section presents primarily the characteristic type of problem of the zone. The value here is that each section presents a typical zone to be found in any American city, and a certain type of problem that will be found in that zone. The section on the churching of the newer residential zone presents the problems of the organization of new churches; the following section on the churching of the stabilized residential zone analyzes the problems of the proper distribution of churches including relocation, consolidation and disbanding; the section dealing with the churching of the down-town and acute transition zone is concerned with problems of adaptation.

Conclusions

In the present situation in the South Sector, the down-town and acute transition zone is found to be the most underchurched part of the sector. All the rest of the area is overchurched. The stabilized residential zone is overchurched chiefly because of the inadequacy of the churches and their improper distribution, while the newer residential zone is overchurched because population growth has been anticipated from ten to thirty years in the organization of churches.

If the proposals of this survey are carried out, the churching of the South Sector should be well set up for about fifteen years. In that

time a proper coöperative plan of church extension should be evolved, which will prepare the way for solving the problems created by population growth and changing situations.

Were we to look fifty years ahead, we might see past the time when the suburban pull has equalized, or become stronger than, the downtown pull. After that time has come, it seems reasonable to expect that the greatest churches of the city will possibly be located in the band across the sector between, perhaps, 40th Street and the old city limits at 54th Street.

CHAPTER II
CHURCHING THE NEWER RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF A GROWING CITY

THE ZONE

The five outer districts of the southern sector west of the chain of lakes and south of Minnehaha Parkway, all extend beyond the city limits. They cover approximately two-thirds of the total area of the sector, but include less than one-fifth of the population. These five districts constitute the rapidly growing area of the sector. In no other zone did even a single district grow as much as 100 per cent. in population between 1920 and 1928; but all these five districts grew 100 per cent. or more, the aggregate gain being 217 per cent. There was an absolute gain for the nine years of over 35,000 people. A still larger growth of about 38,000 is indicated up to 1945; but the rate will decline to about 75 per cent. for this period.

With all the rapid growth, the population is still more and more scattered as the outer boundaries are approached. This is a tremendous area and, even though the population should keep on increasing at an equally rapid rate, the filling in will be slower and slower because the area broadens as the distance from the center of the city becomes greater. There is some evidence of suburban concentration in the outer parts of the sector where new centers are beginning to be formed. It is likely that these will tend more and more to develop into satellite suburban communities.

Here, then, is the newer residential zone of the South Sector. The churching of the present population of some 51,000, about 70 per cent. of which has come into the district since 1920, has involved the establishment of new churches with relatively greater frequency than anywhere else in the city; while the churching of the future population presents all the typical problems of providing the facilities of organized religion in newly settled territory. These constitute the first group of comity problems which the present survey undertakes to solve.

THE PROBLEMS

The predominant and characteristic problems of this zone are those of providing new churches for new people. These problems may be summarized as follows. How shall churches be provided in new resi-

dential areas for each increment of population that requires and justifies a church? How shall the establishment of churches be timed and the churches be so placed that the new ones shall never interfere with the legitimate fields, development and service of the old ones? How far has this condition been realized in the recent past? Is it being realized now? How may it be realized in the future?

Already recognizing the problems of churching the newly settled areas, the Comity Declaration of the Minneapolis Church Federation makes provision for them in the following terms:

> "This committee will have constant oversight of the religious life of the city, with a view to advising the denominations in all proposals for the location of new Sunday schools or churches.
>
> "In view of the fact that in rapidly growing sections of the city, what would be adequate church facilities at one time might be totally inadequate within a few years, and in view of the further fact that in such communities the selection of proper sites for churches may become increasingly difficult or costly, it will be considered entirely proper for any one of the denominations to purchase sites for future use, provided the location of the property be approved by the Comity Committee."

Specifically considering the problems of this kind, the Preliminary Findings Conference took note of five new areas. Two of these, however, were dropped out; one because it was outside of the sector, and the other because it was still remote from the points needing immediate consideration. The three areas concerning which reconsiderations were brought to the Final Findings Conference were (1) the area around the junction of France Avenue and Excelsior Boulevard, (2) the area adjacent to Penn Avenue and Sixty-sixth Street, and (3) the Hale School District south of the Parkway between Portland and Cedar Avenues.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ZONE

An examination of some of the major characteristics of the newer residential zone throws preliminary light on these problems. A summary of these characteristics is found in Table I.

The newer residential zone had in 1920 only 8 per cent. of the population of the sector. It now has 19 per cent.; and its predicted population of approximately 90,000 in 1945 will be 26 per cent. of the predicted population of the sector in that year.

Where the increase of population will locate is more difficult to forecast. The general trend of the past, however, suggests that the rapid growth of St. Louis Park will be widely diffused; that the slower growth (involving, however, larger numbers) west and south of Lake Harriet will tend to be massed just beyond or within the present city limits; that the rapid growth of District XII will lie, in the main, with-

TABLE I—CONDENSED DATA—NEWER RESIDENTIAL ZONE BY DISTRICTS

	Districts					Total for Zone	Total for Sector
	VI	VII	VIII	XII	XIII		
SOCIAL DATA							
Population							
Number 1928	7,734	11,302	12,198	5,883	10,924	48,041	264,776
Percent of Sector Population in Area	3	4	5	2	4	18	100
Estimated Percent Increase							
1920–1928	144	129	330	302	186	196	34
1928–1937	55	30	38	71	49	45	16
1928-1945	119	58	74	128	84	86	28
Housing							
Characteristic Types	Residence	Residence	Residence	Residence	Residence	Residence	....
Density*	Sparsest	—Average	—Average	Sparsest	Sparsest	Sparsest	....
Roomers	None	None	None	None	None	None	....
Relative Standing	Below	Below	Below	Below	Average	Below	Below
Percent Foreign-born†	Average	Average	Average	Average	(Approx.)	Average	Average
Characteristic Income Range	$1,500–2,500	$2,500–4,000	$2,500–4,000	$2,500–4,000	$1,500–2,500	$2,500–4,000	....
Rating by Eight Social Criteria*	Best	Best	+Average	+Average	—Average	+Average	....
RELIGIOUS DATA							
Churches							
Number	2	8	4	4	7	25	124
New 1920–28	1	0	1	1	5	8	20
Number of Denominations	2	4	3	3	3	6	26
Protestant Adherents							
Number Resident	1,665	3,652	4,320	2,570	4,196	16,403	79,376
Percent of Sector Total in Area	2	5	6	3	5	21	100
Percent of Churched, Protestant	50	80	84	68	76	73	76
Protestant Adherents Per Church	833	456	1,080	643	599	656	640
Percent of Population Churched	43	41	42	64	51	47	39
Churchgoing Movement							
Number Received	0	1,570	142	680	387	....	....
Number Given	894	937	2,944	1,255	732	....	....
Percent Received to Given	0	62	5	35	35	....	....
Type of District	"Giving"	"Receiving-Giving"	"Giving"	"Giving-Receiving"	"Giving-Receiving"	"Giving"	....
Characteristic Type of Parish	Very-Compact	Compact	Compact	Medium	Very-Compact	Very-Compact	Medium
Population Per Church							
Resident	3,867	1,834	3,049	1,471	1,561	1,922	2,135
Available	1,187	1,525	775	1,091	1,209	1,220	1,873
Average Protestants per Church							
Constituency in Sector	304	496	271	432	475	428	580
Total Membership	121	225	190	165	247	208	498
Total S.S. Enrollment	178	205	216	177	265	223	302
Percent S.S. Enrollment of Church-membership	147	91	114	107	107	107	62
Growth of Churches	Very Rapid	Very Rapid	Very Rapid	Very Rapid	Very Rapid	Very Rapid	..
Degree of Churching	Most Over-Churched	Over-Churched	Most Over-Churched	Most Over-Churched	Moderately Over-Churched	Most Over-Churched	Over-Churched
Comity Cases							
Total Number	2	1	3	1	3	10	27
Organization	1	....	1	1	1	4	3
Relocation	....	....	1	....	....	1	5
Consolidation	....	1	1	....	2	4	11
Adaptation	1	....	....	....	....	1	7
Disbanding	....	....	....	....	....	....	1

*Compared with sector average.
†Compared with city average.

in the city limits and, to a smaller extent, beyond them in the territory of which Lyndale and Nicollet Avenues from the axes; finally, that the moderate growth of District XIII will be mainly confined within the city limits.

As affecting church problems, the most important general factor relative to population is that a considerable part of the new growth was imposed upon old communities; for example, Richfield and St. Louis Park. The former particularly had a group of rural churches drawing somewhat largely on the countryside; and there are some evidences that the newer population did not fit in well with the standards and traditions of the older population. This same problem of social adjustment is present to a smaller extent where large masses of new population have been imposed upon the sparse population along transit lines in Edina and St. Louis Park.

The main body of the new population has, however, occupied new territory. Here the problem is of establishing institutions and traditions from the ground up.

Seven new churches have been founded within the period from 1920-1928, five of which went to District XIII. On the basis of the anticipated growth of population, it might be expected that there should be by 1945 a need for some six new churches scattered over the districts of this zone; but, as has been indicated, mere growth of population is too crude a basis for decisions as to the need and location of churches.

On the whole the church adherents correspond denominationally to the churches located in the district. Districts VI and VIII, however, because most of the Protestants go away from their homes to church, have a much wider representation of denominations than of churches. District VII which has two Congregational churches and which in addition contributes many to the down-town Congregational churches, is one of the strongholds of this denomination. District XIII with its five Lutheran churches is the fourth strongest Lutheran district. Appendix Table IX may be referred to for evidence of the specific denominational distribution.

The background against which the comity problems of this zone must be analyzed is thus in general seen. But before a way can be found to a solution of the problems, certain principles must be more definitely pointed out.

The Assumptions

Experience proves that the practice of comity involves two factors of about equal importance; an adequate theory and an adequate set of agreements covering procedures and rulings. The present study advanced to the point where it was necessary to bring into play a certain

minimum of theory, and to decide what assumptions to use in attempting a practical interpretation of the facts as ascertained.

Neither the comity declaration of the Minneapolis Church Federation nor the records of its cases furnished a full and clear-cut set of assumptions necessary to meet the churching issues presented by the newer residential sector. The following assumptions expressed convictions that grew out of the survey, and appeared to be in the spirit of comity practice in Minneapolis as well as in other cities. These, and assumptions relating to the problems of the other zones, were discussed and adopted, with some changes which have been incorporated, by the Comity Committee at the Final Findings Conference.

(1) Sparse suburban populations must frequently be served by churches located more than a mile from the homes of the people. City conveniences in churching cannot be furnished the outlying sections in advance of other sorts of city conveniences.

(2) The minimum population necessary to justify the establishment of a mission or Sunday school need not be fixed. The decision will rest more upon locally available leadership than upon mere numbers of people. But no denomination should be given a final claim upon a territory on account of having established a mission or a Sunday school; and all purchases of property, and the initial stages of the establishment of any sort of religious organization, should be referred, in advance of action, for comity procedures.

(3) The establishment of a church need not wait upon the presence, within a convenient parish area, of enough population for the permanent support of the church; but no church should be established until sufficient supporting population is definitely in prospect within a reasonable time, say five to seven years. During this interval enough denominational aid should be available to permit of the maintenance of a church of standard quality.

(4) Churches of the coöperating denominations should be established and located only after comity action, which should then protect the church in an exclusive parish field until there is population enough to justify a second church.

(5) In recognition of such protection, any church given an exclusive field should agree to attempt to serve all the people of the community.

(6) The establishment of a second church need not wait until an area has twice as large a population as is necessary to support one church. Increased population, within a limited time, may be anticipated to a reasonable extent.

(7) It is assumed that churches in new residential areas should ordinarily be located one mile apart.

(8) Churches should be located with reference to the probable structure of the area as determined by the major streets, the provisions of zoning ordinances, and the probable location of business centers, public institutions and transit lines.

Comity Situations in the Light of the Assumptions

Available population

The Church-Going Movement items in Table I demonstrate what everybody knows; namely, that peripheral districts tend to give up a larger proportion of their adherents than the average to churches in other districts and that the central districts, with their great city-wide churches, draw most upon the remoter districts. But marked variations from these tendencies are found in the newer residential zone.

The fact that the per cent. of non-Protestants in this zone is somewhat larger than in the section as a whole is due to the preponderance of this element in Districts VI and XIII, which are both important Catholic centers; but everywhere the non-Protestant population appreciably affects the field of the Protestant churches.

With the non-Protestants and the populations not locally churched left out of consideration the population available to the Protestant churches in the districts of the newer residential zone is diminished from 16 to 75 per cent. This is extraordinary enough; but still more striking is the unequal operation of the process.

The extreme difference thus found between resident and available population in Districts VI and VIII calls for a special explanation. In District VI, which appeared to have enough resident population to warrant more Protestant churches, this difference makes that assumption very questionable. Two additional Protestant churches have already been attempted in that district, only to fail. A look at the two churches now functioning there indicates that the cause probably was their inadequacy. The present churches must become more commanding and efficient before any attempt is made to organize new churches which in turn will have to be undertaken on an adequate scale. The situation in this district is an excellent example of failure to carry out the principle indicated in the last part of Assumption 3. It is to be noted, too, that District VI is nearer down-town than any other peripheral district and, consequently, easier to get away from.

The apparent reason why District VIII gives up so many of its religious adherents to the churches of other districts is that its churches

are predominately of the same kind; namely immersionist churches. This provides an example of failure to carry out the principle enumerated in Assumption 7 in Chapter III.

The survey did not include any direct communication with church-members to discover why they went away from home to find churches. But a summary study of who the outgoing Protestants are and where they go furnishes some light upon the question of why they go. In the first place, many go because there is no church of their own denomination in the neighborhood. Again, doctrinal peculiarities and special theological emphases within denominations serve to repel certain people who proceed to seek churches of other types. A third group consists of persons of recent foreign extraction who still want their religion in their mother tongue and feel that they must go to some church maintaining foreign language services in spite of the distance. There are also a group of down-town minded persons attracted by the prestige of the central city churches. A fifth and final group is composed of the adherents of small and generally erratic denominations whose total numbers in the city are so few that their churches must be centrally located.

SPECIAL CASES

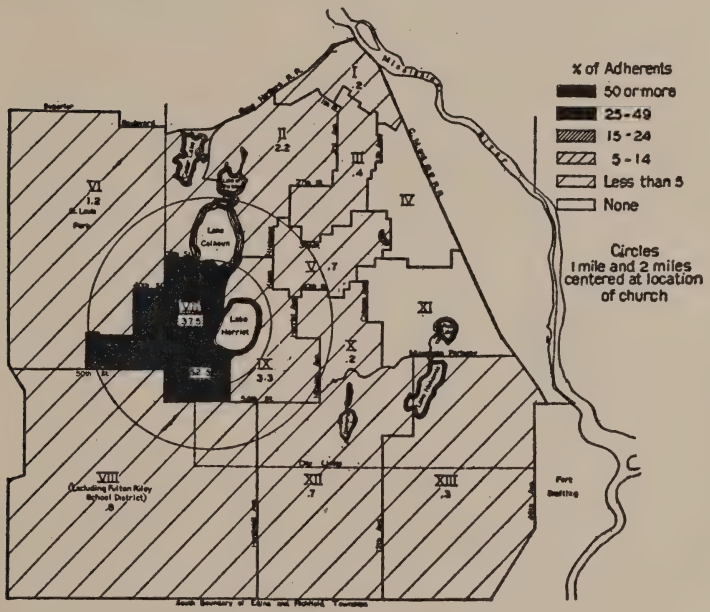
District VII presents a very striking exception to the general tendency of population movement. Although located west of the chain of lakes and in the peripheral zone, it receives 62 non-resident adherents into its churches to every 38 given up to churches elsewhere. The explanation undoubtedly is that its focal point, the Linden Hills settlement, is older in point of time than most of the other residential zones. Five of its eight churches antedate 1910. Furthermore, Linden Hills is developing as a secondary center, with its bank, stores and the like. The lake barrier tends to act as a dam behind which population piles up from the southwest. It is in its capacity as a secondary center that District VII draws on other areas for church adherents, very largely on District VIII and somewhat on District VI.

Fifteen years ago the need of this area for new churches was anticipated to such an extent that no more will be needed for fifteen years more. If the principle expressed in Assumption 6 had been applied to the situation, the churches perhaps would not find themselves in their present difficulty, without resources to expand and meet an increasing opportunity provided by the development of the secondary center which demands better churches, more extensive equipment and more varied leadership.

A sample parish of the district is mapped on Chart XXI.

An especially acute situation is that presented by the group of Lutheran churches in Districts VII and VIII. Here are three churches representing different Lutheran Synods and situated within a few blocks of one another. One of them can afford only a part-time pastor and none of them has been able to develop to any degree of adequacy. The three together have 268 church members and 334 Sunday-school pupils, and they receive $3,600 Home Mission aid per year. The Lutheran adherents of all kinds living in these districts who could reasonably be expected to be churched within their districts, would be just about enough for one good church.[1]

It was stated earlier that the area around the Lakes was the area



Parish Map - Lake Harriet Methodist Episcopal Church
Very Compact Parish
CHART XXI

in which the people of Scandinavian, and hence, Lutheran, antecedents were weakest; yet in Districts VII, VIII and IX, where only 15 per cent. of the resident church adherents are Lutheran, 40 per cent. of the churches are Lutheran. This is the type of situation that points to the

[1]Since the survey was undertaken, the situation has been somewhat further complicated by the beginning of a Missouri Synod mission at France Avenue and Fifty-fourth Street in District VIII.

necessity of such a principle as that indicated in Assumption 7, Chapter III.

District XII presents a situation that is often to be found in the American city. Richfield is an old rural community which was taken into the city in 1926. Paying city taxes, however, has not made the community urban. It has carried over a typically rural overchurched situation into the city. It is in fact the most overchurched district of the whole sector. But the problem has been further complicated. As the old town becomes part of the city, a more urbanized type of people is being superimposed upon the old rural substratum, necessitating an assimilation on the part of the older churches. The slowness of the original churches to recognize this situation has brought in new churches to increase the overchurching.

THE UNDERCHURCHED AREAS

Inaccessibility to churches, which is the secondary factor to underchurching, is used as a convenient index to the underchurched areas. Chart XXII, (p. 60) shows the areas not conveniently near to any churches. These, with the exception of one that is very small, are all in the Newer Residential Zone. In the area outside the city limits, three areas more than a mile from any church are indicated. According to Assumption I they will have to get along without churches till their population increases. First, the northern part of District VI. Here the population is very scattered but is growing rather rapidly and may in the near future develop a center, at least a mile from the nearest St. Louis Park church, where a new church should be located. The principle enumerated in Assumption 2 should soon be brought to bear on this situation. For the time being, however, this area will have to be cared for by the outreach of the St. Louis Park churches. To care for it, as well as for its part of the churching of St. Louis Park proper, the Congregational Church will need a better building and equipment and a full-time pastor. The field was cleared for this church by the withdrawal of the churches of two other denominations, which places upon it a greater responsibility for adequacy.

The second underchurched area outside of the city limits lies in the southwest corner of District VIII. Although the population of this district is already sufficient to seem to warrant two additional churches, it really does not offer an opportunity even for one. This is the largest of the survey districts. Three-fourths of its population is massed immediately southwest of Lake Harriet where three churches are already clustered. The remaining population is nowhere concentrated in sufficient numbers to furnish the minimum support for a

church, nor to promise it within a reasonable time. When the population has increased sufficiently, a church may be located adjacent to a future minor center which should develop according to the city plan at Penn Avenue and Sixty-sixth Street. This location would reduce the area that is more than a mile from any church. Assumption 2, 7, 8 and number 6 in Chapter III bear upon this case.

The churching of this district would be materially improved if the France Avenue Baptist Mission were moved about half a mile south and the denomination changed to Presbyterian, to add variety to the churches of the district and to distribute better the denominations in the whole sector. This would be in accord with Assumption 6 in Chapter III.

The southern part of District XIII has a very small and scattered population which is not expected to increase sufficiently to warrant a church for many years. This is the type of situation covered by Assumption 1. The southwest edge of the district is within reach of a Mission of the Richfield United Lutheran Church at Cedar Avenue and Eighty-fifth Street.

Most of the new churches required by the growth of population in the new residential zone up to 1945 will, however, be in areas where there already are churches. Population will be dense enough to support more than one church in the same immediate neighborhood. In other words, the problem will have reached a secondary stage and be one of distributing churches relative to one another, rather than of locating them in exclusive parishes with reference to the needs of new population and thinly settled areas.

Within the city limits there are three areas of the newer residential zone that are more than half a mile from any church. The first is in District VI west of Lake Calhoun. A large part of this area is now occupied by the Minikahda Country Club; but without doubt it will before long become a residential section of more than average social quality. Two major traffic lines into the city converge at France Avenue and Excelsior Boulevard. This is bound to produce a tendency to dam up the movement of people behind the bottle-neck between Lake Calhoun and the Lake of the Isles. There will be sufficient population in the very near future to warrant a mission in this area, providing the requirements of Assumptions 3, 4 and 5 are met. The location, as indicated by Assumption 8, should be adjacent to the converging point of the traffic lines. In accord with Assumption 7, this location is nearly a mile from any existing church. The logical denomination to undertake this work in harmony with the principle of Assumption 6, Chapter III, is the Baptist.

In District VIII just within the southwest corner of the city limits

lies another area inaccessible to the present churches. This can best be taken care of by the consolidation of Mt. Olivet Augustana Lutheran Church in District IX with the Oliver Avenue United Lutheran Mission and removal to the vicinity of Penn Avenue and Fifty-eighth Street, in accordance with Assumption 8. This would also relieve the overchurching in District IX. If the principles of Assumptions 4, 5, and 7 had originally been carried out, the situation that now exists would have been prevented, and they should be made to apply in the new situation.[2]

The third area of inaccessibility is located between Diamond Lake and Lake Nokomis. This has already been provided for by an allocation to the Methodist Episcopal denomination. Active work at present awaits only the ability to meet the requirements of Assumption 3. Assumptions 4 and 5 are also applicable to this situation.[3]

THE OVERCHURCHED AREAS

In Districts VII and VIII the consolidation of the three Lutheran churches already referred to, Tabor Augustana and St. Andrew's Iowa Synod with Lake Harriet Norwegian would greatly relieve this overchurched situation, which was brought about by the failure of the Lutheran groups to carry out the principles stated in Assumptions 6 and 7 of Chapter III.

The intense overchurching of District XII has already been described. It is not unusual for a rural community such as this essentially is, but in consequence the churches are very weak. The only apparent solution of this problem is larger and larger denominational assistance to the churches of the district to span the time until they can adequately take care of themselves.

District XIII, with an average of only 1,561 people for each of its seven churches, has created its problem of overchurching by the establishment of five additional churches since 1920. The result is an exceedingly weak group of new organizations either heavily subsidized from mission board treasuries or getting along with part-time leadership. This is the sector in which the people of Scandinavian antecedents predominate, consequently it is Lutheran territory; but the superabundance of Lutheran churches that have anticipated too far the increased population, as referred to in Assumption 6, has destined these five churches to remain third or fourth class. To clear this situation up in line with the spirit of Assumption 7, in Chapter III, three

[2]Between the dates of the Preliminary and the **Final** Findings Conferences, the Oliver Ave. Mission was disbanded. This resolves the problem into the removal of Mt. Olivet Church to the location indicated.

[3]This situation has been complicated by the fact that without any comity clearance the Lutheran Free Church started a mission in this area before the time of the Final Findings Conference.

things should be done. First, Trinity Augustana Lutheran Church should be consolidated with Nokomis Norwegian Lutheran Church, which is the oldest, largest and most aggressive church in the district. Trinity has been maintained under part-time leadership, has had only a limited program, and has not grown. Second, the two United Lutheran churches, Resurrection and Hope, should be consolidated at the location of Hope in accord with Assumption 6 of Chapter III. And, third, the Nokomis Park Missouri Lutheran Church, to obtain the best distribution for its own development and the development of the other churches, should move to the present location of either Trinity or Hope.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the Newer Residential Zone, but especially along its southern border, the need of a more faithful and inclusive practice of comity is evidenced. The present showing does not speak well either for the coöperative spirit or for intelligent churchmanship.

There are some opportunities for church extension in this zone, but the main problems are the clearing up of mistakes already made through the ill-advised starting of new churches. The overchurching of this area shows that too much churching often defeats its own end by being too poor churching, which repels instead of attracts people. A reasonable conclusion seems to be that adequacy of churching is more important than quantity in churching.

The analysis of the churching situation in the Newer Residential Zone provides a variety of excellent object lessons warning against the recurrence of mistakes that have been so generally made in the extension of churching in the American cities.

CHAPTER III
CHURCHING STABILIZED RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN THE CITY

The Situation

THE ZONE

In contrast with the newer residential zone studied in the preceeding chapter, Districts V, IX, X and XI constitute the stabilized residential zone of the South Sector. This zone is also in contrast with the still older zone of residence now identified with the area of acute transition lying still farther to the north and in turn surrounding the down-town center of the city.

As defined by the present study, the stabilized residential zone lies between Minnehaha Parkway on the south and the industrial and commercial belt with its axis in Lake Street on the north. The western boundary is formed by the chain of lakes.

A significant characteristic of this zone is the gridiron structure formed by the major traffic arteries running north and south four or five blocks apart and often occupied by street-car lines, and the east and west cross-town business streets which are developing at about six-block intervals. Business is permitted on these streets by the zoning ordinance and is increasing. The intersections are developing as focal points for both transit and business, and multiple dwellings are usually permitted adjacent to them in both directions.

Most of the area within the rectangles formed by these developing major streets will continue to be devoted to single-family dwellings. The fact that many of the present dwellings are of the bungalow type fixes the character of the area as one of low density of population.

The stabilized zone grew 61 per cent. in population from 1920 to 1928, adding 30,000 people to make the present population of 80,694, and increasing its proportion of the sector's population from 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. This constitutes a much slower growth than that of the newer residential zone which averaged 196 per cent. The predicted growth to 1937 is 15,000, to which 7,500 more is expected to be added by 1945. But the population of 103,000 and over which is anticipated at the later date will still constitute only 30 per cent. of that of the entire sector—a smaller proportion than it will constitute in 1937. The sector as a whole will grow 28 per cent., which is exactly what is

predicted for the zone. This is direct evidence of its stabilized character.

The future distribution of population is not likely to vary essentially from the present distribution except in a few vacant areas that have remained unimproved because they are low and undrained. Most of the area, with the exception of District V, lies outside the zone in which multiple dwellings are permitted; and, unless the requirements of the zoning law should be changed, growth will have to come by the further filling in of scattered, unimproved lots and the more crowded occupancy of existing types of houses.

The characterization of the area as a stabilized residential zone is thus justified by the combined weight of the factors of relatively fixed control, slow growth and the determination of the single-family residence as the dominant type of housing. This was yesterday's frontier. It has now settled down, and conditions are more nearly static here than anywhere else in the South Sector. But under no urban conditions can stabilization be absolute. The gradual evolution of the area according to the gridiron plan above sketched is of course to go on.

CHURCHING PROBLEMS

A growth of 61 per cent. in population since 1920, coincident with the erection of new buildings upon many unimproved lots scattered throughout the area, naturally invited additional churches. But the increase of churches in the zone was slow compared with that which occurred between 1910 and 1920 when the zone was taking its turn as a newer residential zone.

The more striking feature of the churching process is, however, the appearance of a phenomenon not hitherto met; namely, that of an area receiving relatively large numbers of churches by removal from other locations. In the zone under discussion, a third as many churches were added in this way as were founded from 1910 to 1928. The down-town and acute transition zone also receives numerous churches by removal; but here the phenomenon is accompanied with that of still more numerous departures of churches as well as their disbanding or consolidation. These latter experiences have not yet come to what is called the stabilized residential zone. Its churching has reached a stage midway between that of the zone of acute transition and that of the newer residential zone. The churches it is getting are a secondary supply considerably influenced by redistribution; and they are almost never located at a distance from existing churches. In other words, the main condition with which comity in the newer residential districts has to do has passed away. The stabilized residential zone meets new problems.

What, then, are the criteria of adequate churching in an area already sufficiently populated to have more than one church in the same neighborhood, and to which an appreciable proportion of the supply of churches comes by transfer from other areas? What constitute competitive overchurching in these circumstances? Can underchurching exist; and, if so, how should it be described?

In the stabilized residential zone, problems of this characteristic type constitute a second group, to the solution of which the present chapter is given. They relate generally to the proper distribution of churches with respect to one another.

The Comity Declaration of the Minneapolis Church Federation has already made the relocation of churches a coördinate problem with that of the establishment of new churches, and provides for it in the following terms:

> "It is recognized that in old established churches, parishes will overlap. It is inevitable, also, that however carefully churches may be located so as not to jeopardize the success of any other, people may and will disregard territorial lines and attend the church of their choice. The Comity Committee recommends that no new churches be established or old ones relocated without careful investigation of the particular field contemplated."

For the purpose of further considering these problems the Preliminary Findings Conference appointed special committees on Relocation and Consolidation, and recognized six specific problems. The first was a problem of relocation, the removal of Mt. Olivet Augustana Lutheran Church from District IX to Penn Avenue and Fifty-eighth Street in District VIII. The three next problems were suggested consolidations; (1) of Aldrich Avenue Presbyterian Church in District V with the other four adjacent Presbyterian churches; (2) of Bishop Whipple Memorial Protestant Episcopal Church with All Saints Protestant Episcopal Church, both in District V; and (3) of Nazareth Norwegian Lutheran Church with Calvary Augustana Lutheran Church, both in District XI. The fifth problem was one of suggested federation, that of Open Door Congregational Church and Ebenezer Baptist Mission in District XI. The sixth problem was one of disbanding the Portland Avenue Missouri Synod Lutheran Church.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ZONE

The major characteristics of the stabilized residential zone in the light of which these problems were presumably to be solved, are presented in Table II.

With thirty-three churches and 80,000 population, the stabilized

TABLE II—CONDENSED DATA—STABILIZED RESIDENTIAL ZONE BY DISTRICTS

	Districts				Total for Zone	Total for Sector
	V	IX	X	XI		
SOCIAL DATA						
Population						
Number 1928	29,984	14,722	12,560	23,428	80,694	264,776
Percent of Sector Population in Area	11	6	5	9	31	100
Estimated Percent Increase						
1920–1928	33	81	73	92	61	34
1928–1937	14	15	22	24	19	16
1928–1945	21	22	29	41	28	28
Housing						
Characteristic Type	Apt.-Res.	Residence	Residence	Residence	Residence	....
Density*	Densest	+Average	−Average	Average	Average	....
Roomers*	−Average	Least	Least	−Average	−Average	....
Relative Standing	Below	Below	Below	Average	Below	Below
Percent Foreign-born†	Average	Average	Average	(Approx.)	Average	Average
Characteristic Income Range	$2,500–4,000	$4,000 & Over	$1,500–2,500	$1,500–2,500	$2,500–4,000	....
Rating by Eight Social Criteria	Average	Best	+Average	−Average	Average	....
RELIGIOUS DATA						
Churches						
Number	10	7	6	10	33	124
New 1920–28	2	1	2	3	8	20
Number of Denominations	7	4	5	6	10	26
Protestant Adherents						
Number resident	9,450	6,474	4,732	8,970	29,626	79,376
Percent of Sector Total in Districts	12	8	6	11	37	100
Percent of Churched, Protestant	80	86	72	89	82	76
Protestant Adherents per Church	945	925	789	897	898	640
Percent of Population Churched	40	51	53	43	45	39
Churchgoing Movement						
Number Received	2,513	2,078	1,566	1,503	....	....
Number Given	6,296	3,411	2,868	4,383	....	....
Percent Received to Given	29	38	35	26	....	....
Type of District	Giving-Receiving	Giving-Receiving	Giving-Receiving	Giving-Receiving	Giving-Receiving	....
Characteristic Type of Parish	Medium	Compact	Compact	Very-Compact	Compact	Medium
Population Per Church						
Resident	2,998	2,103	2,093	2,343	2,445	2,135
Available	1,515	1,686	1,363	1,434	1,499	1,873
Average Protestants per Church						
Constituency in Sector	481	629	461	513	522	580
Total Membership	349	520	266	328	360	498
Total S.S. Enrollment	270	279	260	273	271	302
Percent S.S. Enrollment of Church-membership	77	54	98	83	75	62
Growth of Churches	Rapid	Rapid	Rapid	Rapid	Rapid	....
Degree of Churching	Over-Churched	Over-Churched	Moderately Over-Churched	Moderately Over-Churched	Over-Churched	Over-Churched
Comity Cases						
Total Number	2	1	1	2	6	27
Organization	....	....	....	....	....	3
Relocation	....	1	....	....	1	5
Consolidation	2	....	....	2	4	11
Adaptation	....	....	....	....	....	7
Disbanding	....	....	1	....	1	1

*Compared with sector average.
†Compared with city average.

residential zone has about 2,400 people per church, which is a somewhat higher ratio than that of the newer residential zone with twenty-five churches for 50,000 people. The ratio in the stabilized residential zone is more closely maintained throughout its districts than the ratio in either of the other zones. This would seem to indicate that it is more evenly churched.

Its church adherents represent 45 per cent. of the population, which is 6 per cent. more than their proportion in the whole sector. Every district of the zone has a larger percentage of churched population than has the sector as a whole. The non-Protestant proportion varies from 11 per cent. of the total churched in District XI to 28 per cent. in District X. While the stabilized residential zone contains but 30 per cent. of the population of the sector, it contains 37 per cent. of the Protestants but only 26 per cent. of the non-Protestants. Protestantism is relatively stronger, and the churched factor is relatively larger, here than anywhere else in the sector.

The characteristic parish of the zone is compact. Two of the four districts, however, vary from that mode and in different directions. District V occupies a transitional position between its own zone and the zone of acute deterioration, as is evidenced by the tendency of its churches to have medium parishes. On the other hand, District XI shows a transitional position with reference to the newer residential zone in its tendency toward very compact parishes.

The distribution of Protestant adherents according to the districts of residence reveals something of an index of the respective responsibility of the denominations. The fact that the entire zone has but four first-class churches, and the further fact that many more people go away from the zone to church than come to it from other zones leads one to expect that most of the denominations will not find strongholds within the zone.

In the different districts, however, this does not necessarily hold, partly because of their difference in size, but more because of the varying national antecedents of their populations. Thus District V is one of the most important to the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian and minority groups of English-speaking antecedents. On the contrary, it is only a secondary Lutheran district. District IX is a secondary district for all of the major denominations of English-speaking origins, but is of very much less importance from the standpoint of the number of Lutheran adherents.

District X does not constitute a stronghold for any of the major denominations of English-speaking origins, and ranks as a secondary district for Lutherans as a whole, with the Free, Missouri Synod, and United Lutheran bodies relatively stronger than the others. District

XI ranks still lower from the standpoint of the major denominations of English-speaking origins, but is the Lutheran stronghold of the city, particularly for the Augustana, Free, and Norwegian Lutheran Synods. Such is the mixture of Protestant bodies in the most distinctly Protestant area of the sector.

So we find that the range of comity problems in the stabilized residential zone is very different from that in the newer residential zone where comity was seeking to establish exclusive parishes. Here exclusive parishes are highly exceptional. There the churches tended to be spaced out in sparse areas of population; here two-thirds of the churches are massed in clusters or constellations around advantageous localities. There, because of the sparse population, the larger part of the area still had to have its churches at inconvenient distances; here only a slender patch of territory is more than a half-mile from some church. The avoidance of competition, accordingly, must be found in a very different set of arrangements than those that comity sought to establish in the newer residential zone.

The Assumptions

At this point it is again necessary to reach into the realm of theory to find principles applicable to the problem of this zone, particularly since the Comity Declaration of the Church Federation gives no adequate clue to the actual criteria that should be brought to bear in the situation.

Nine assumptions relating to the churching of this zone were presented to the Findings Conference. They were as follows:

(1) Minor denominations will frequently have to draw their scattered followings from inconvenient distances over wide areas. They should locate at focal points, generally near city centers; and should not be regarded primarily as institutions of the districts in which they are located.

(2) Aside from the churches of these minorities, the number of churches in a district should be determined by the population actually available for Protestant churching within the district; and there should not be so many as to involve disastrous competition.

(3) Usually there is sufficient population in stabilized areas, however, so that geographically exclusive parishes should not be expected.

(4) On the contrary the clustering of churches around the focal points and structural zones of the city, such as the secondary business centers and major streets, is to be expected and desired.

(5) Churches clustered at focal points may frequently draw adherents from considerable areas. Among such clusters of churches, other churches of a more local character should be distributed, so that ordinarily no well-settled area of the city should be over half a mile from a church.

(6) Churches of the same denomination should be spaced out so as not to draw on the same territory.

(7) Clustered churches should present a complementary denominational distribution. Thus, for example, in a strongly American district capable of supporting five churches the following distribution would be appropriate. First, a non-liturgical, non-immersionist church; second, an immersionist church; third, a liturgical church; fourth, a church of Lutheran antecedents for the Scandinavian minority; fifth, possibly a church of American antecedents and of the denomination that proves to have the next largest following in the district.

In a Scandinavian district there should be churches of English-speaking antecedents proportionate to the size of their minority of the population.

(8) Because of differences in wealth and tradition, there will be differences among denominations with respect to the institutional standards which their churches maintain. Consequently one denomination may well decide to abandon or to consolidate a church that has fallen permanently below *its* standard, even when another denomination, maintaining less exacting standards, would continue to keep a church no better than the one abandoned.

(9) Considerations of adequate service on the part of churches, as well as of the mere number and distribution of churches, should enter into comity decisions.

Comity Situations in the Light of the Assumptions

Available population

When the non-Protestant adherents as well as the Protestant adherents who desert the district of their residence for their church homes have been deducted, and those who come into the district for churching have been added, it is found that the available population per church is from 25 to 50 per cent. less than the total resident population per church. The churchgoing movement of this zone is much more complicated than that of the newer residential zone. Of the resident church adherents, 64 per cent. are churched outside their own neighborhoods.

The 36 per cent. who are churched within their own neighborhoods make up 56 per cent. of the people that are churched in the districts, which leaves 44 per cent. coming from other neighborhoods. Of the Protestant adherents resident in the zone, 50 per cent. go entirely outside the zone to church; but the 50 per cent. remaining in the zone make up 78 per cent. of the total number churched in the zone. Both the giving and the receiving of adherents characterize the zone, and each district classifies itself in this category.

In terms of persons rather than percentage, there are two hundred and seventy-two residents in the districts of the stabilized residential zone who seek church homes beyond the boundaries of their neighborhoods to every one hundred and twenty-eight non-residents who come to the churches of the districts. In two districts (V and X) more non-residents come into the district for churching than there are residents who stay for churching. In every district more resident adherents are churched outside than inside. This latter condition is more aggravated in District V, much of whose population is located conveniently near the strong churches just north of Lake Street. Considerably more than half of all Protestant adherents living in this district leave it to attend churches nearer the center of the city. Appreciable numbers, however, go to the neighboring districts within the zone, IX, X and XI. Similarly, half of the active Protestants of District IX leave that district for the greater satisfaction of the central churches. In the main, the paths of churchgoing away from the home district follow the sectors indicating economic level and foreign antecedents, which were explained on Pages 17-22.

The question now arises, are the available populations of from 1,363 to 1,686 people per church in the several districts sufficient to justify the number of existing churches, or is there overchurching? The answer to this question can be found only in an examination of the actual status and prospects of the existing churches.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES

To understand the churching of this zone it is necessary to look into its history, a summary of which is given in Appendix Table III.

The first two churches were organized prior to 1890. Unsuccessful experiments of the two following decades are reflected in two churches disbanded or consolidated. One removal per decade has been experienced since 1891; but no trend has developed. On the contrary, the trend already referred to in a previous connection, namely, for the zone to receive churches by removal from other districts, has reached notable proportions since 1891. The occurrence of relocations within the zone is a still further mark of the secondary stage of church placement.

The net increase since 1920 has been approximately the same as in the previous decade.

The data, however, do not afford intimate knowledge earlier than 1920. Whether the 1920 situation was one of underchurching or overchurching is indicated by the population per church. Apparently, as was the case also with the newer residential zone, the overchurching was worse in the stabilized residential zone in 1920 than it is in 1928. The thirty-three churches of 1928 have more people per church in every district than the twenty-four churches of 1920 had.

Comparing the 1928 situation with that found in the newer residential zone, the showing is more favorable. Every district of the stabilized residential zone has a larger population per church than any district in the newer residential zone except St. Louis Park. Consequently the churches have better opportunity; they are on the average actually larger and institutionally superior.

ADEQUACY OF CHURCHING

Adequacy of churching is taken up in Chapter V. It is necessary, however, to look ahead briefly because of the bearing that adequacy has upon the problem of the stabilized residential zone. The most obvious grounds for rating churches, such as membership size, Sunday-school enrollment, current expenditures, per capita giving, etc., are familiar. To these the present study has added a ranking on "Combined Institutional Criteria" which includes the consideration of items of organization and program. The ranking of each church on the various items is given by districts in Appendix Table IV. The method of the ranking is explained in the Appendix, Page 122.

More than half the churches of the zone are below average with respect to church-membership. The few large institutions are well scattered; two in District V and one in each of the other districts. Grade B memberships are slightly more numerous than those of any other grade. This situation is in sharp contrast with that found in the newer residential zone where Grade D memberships are strongly characteristic.

The Sunday schools of the zone have relatively better status than its church-memberships. The number of schools ranking below, and the number above, average are just about equal. Probably the district holds its Sunday-school pupils better than it does its adult adherents. The Grade A Sunday schools are well distributed among the districts.

The combined criteria, devised so as to bring out the values of the smaller churches, permit the churches of the zone to show a somewhat higher average rate. B grade is slightly more characteristic on this basis than on the others. The proportion of A grade churches is, how-

ever, smaller on combined institutional criteria; because some large churches are not well developed. At best there are as many churches below the average as above, while only six are D class. At this point also the zone contrasts favorably with the newer residential zone whose churches run strongly to C and D grades.

Now if it is assumed that D grade churches are definitely inadequate institutions according to the standards set by the actual evolution of Minneapolis Protestantism, and that the C grade churches are unsatisfactory, then half of the Protestant institutions of the zone fall into the problem class—and this is the area where Protestantism is relatively strongest and where it has probably the most typical development.

However, churches should be judged by their rates of progress as well as by their institutional status at the moment. The zone has enough recently founded churches, which have not had time to afford a fair chance for development, to challenge a modification of the previous verdict. It is necessary, then, to correlate two general factors; namely, that of present status and that of legitimate prospects as indicated by institutional trends and rates of progress. But there are too many separate factors entering into both of the general factors for a statistical correlation to be carried out. In the main, churches falling in the C and D grade institutionally should not be judged finally if they were established too recently to permit of their getting well under way. Nor should they be judged unfavorably if, though institutionally inferior, they have been going up-grade rapidly for some time. On the other hand, churches of present low institutional rank that have been growing slower than population, or declining, must certainly be put in the problem class.

The stabilized residential zone appears to afford five such cases. All belong to the major denominations; and all are in striking contrast to the institutional standards of their respective denominations. These cases are: Open Door Congregational, Nazareth Norwegian Lutheran, All Saints, and Bishop Whipple Memorial Protestant Episcopal, and Aldrich Avenue Presbyterian churches. These cases and also the importance of Assumption 9 should be kept in mind through the discussion of the specific problem.

CLUSTERING OF CHURCHES

Another situation that should be specially considered in connection with the problem of this zone is the clustering of churches referred to in Assumption 4. The background for this condition is the gridiron structure of the area already discussed.

The present churches, as shown on Chart V, are strung along certain axial streets from east to west, particularly at 31st and 32nd

Streets (paralleling the Lake Street axis); also at 36th and 48th Streets. They are also distributed with reference to the Lyndale, Nicollet and Chicago Avenue axes; but tend to be located about a block on either side of these three major thoroughfares rather than directly on them. Nearly two-thirds of the total number of churches lie in three clusters. This massing is notably related to two factors: strategic points in the structure of the sector; and areas of high social standing. In other words, the churches have heaped up at points of natural convergence for the coming and going of people in the more desirable residen-

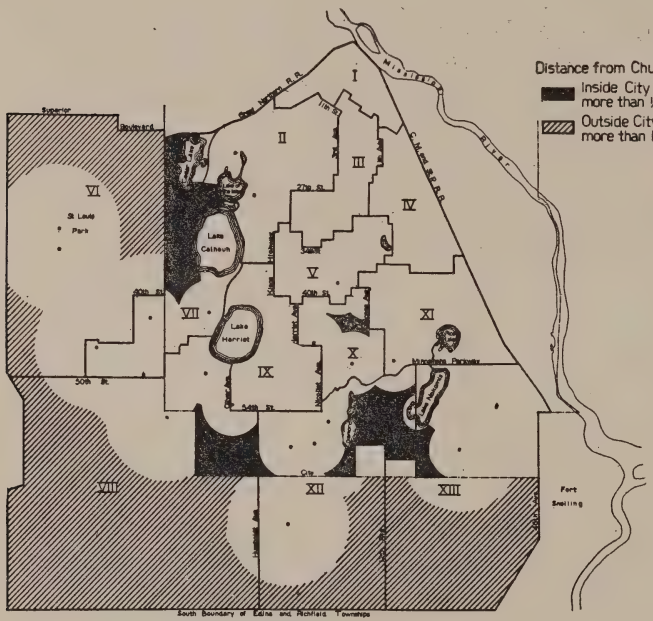


CHART XXII

tial areas, and are spread out more thinly in the poorer and less strategic areas which tend to be somewhat less densely populated.

UNDERCHURCHED AREAS

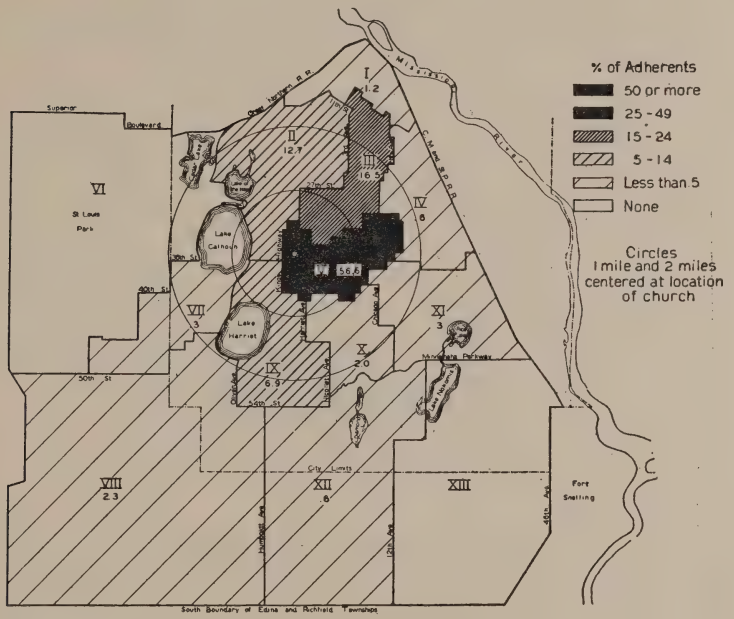
Chart XXII shows a small area in District X more than half a mile from any church. This would be an indication of underchurching were it not for the fact that this district, as well as the whole zone, is decidedly overchurched. This area is low, has been slow in becoming settled, and is still thinly populated. As it becomes more completely settled, a

slight relocation of one of the present churches can make it more accessible. Assumption 5 applies to this case.

OVERCHURCHED AREAS

In the light of the generally overchurched character of the stabilized residential zone, and the static tendency of the churches already mentioned, several suggestions are made to improve the churching.

In District V, Aldrich Avenue Presbyterian Church seems not only to be one of the too-many churches, but also a too-many Presbyterian



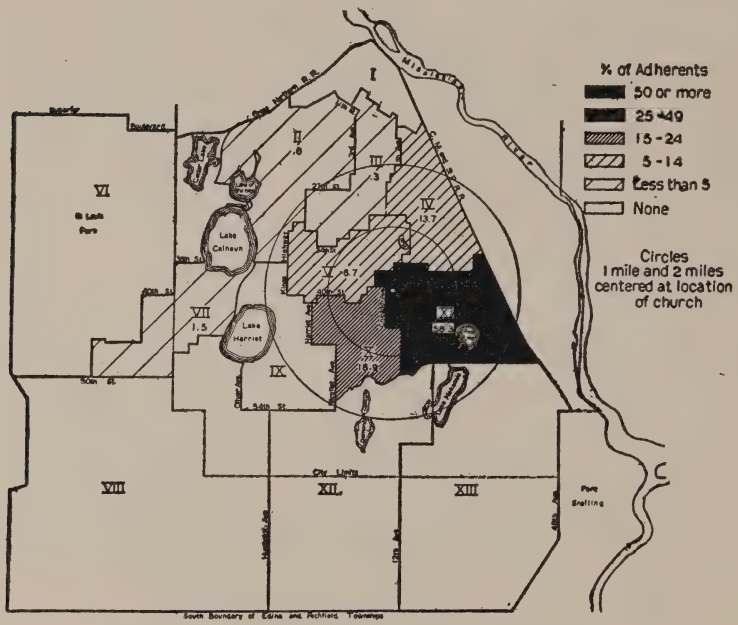
Parish Map - Aldrich Avenue Presbyterian Church
Medium Parish
CHART XXIII

church in consideration of Assumptions 6 and 8. If this church were consolidated with one, or divided among all, of the four other Presbyterian churches, three of which are within a mile and one just a little more than a mile away, a source of denominational competition would be removed, as well as the overchurching of the district cleared up. Despite a rather large amount of assistance in the past this church has not been able to maintain the standards of its denomination and has been losing ground in church-membership and Sunday-school enroll-

ment. Chart XXIII shows that the parish of Aldrich Avenue Church overlaps the areas in which the other Presbyterian churches are located.

Two Protestant Episcopal churches in District V are only a mile apart, and neither of them has adequate equipment or has shown growth. The consolidation of Bishop Whipple Memorial with All Saints Protestant Episcopal Church should make one good church out of two weak ones. An additional significant factor is that Bishop Whipple Memorial Church is cut off from much of its contributing territory by the community consciousness of Lynnhurst (District IX) and the prestige of St. Lukes' Protestant Episcopal Church which serves that district. Assumptions 3, 5, 6 and 8 bear upon this situation.

The removal of Mt. Olivet Augustana Lutheran Church from Dis-



Parish Map - Nazareth Lutheran Church (M.L.C)
Compact Parish

CHART XXIV

trict IX has been considered with the problems of the Newer Residential Zone into which it should be moved. This is a problem under Assumption 2.

In District X, the last church to be organized is the Portland Avenue Missouri Lutheran Church. It receives about $1,800 a year Home Mission Aid, is a C class church, and apparently has no prospect

unless all of the Missouri Synod people who go downtown should stay within the district for their churching. In line with Assumptions 2 and 7, apparently the best solution of this overchurched situation is the disbanding of this church.

There are two all-English Lutheran churches just two blocks apart in District XI, Calvary Augustana and Nazareth Norwgeian. Calvary, though the younger, is the more aggressive and the stronger. The competition mentioned in Assumption 2 is certainly present here. Nazareth consolidated with Calvary would make possible one adequate church instead of two medium churches, and would help materially to change the aspect of the churching of the District. Chart XXIV shows the parish of Nazareth Church.

District XI is a strongly Lutheran district; but it needs one good non-liturgical church of the major denominations (See Assumption 7). In accord with Assumption 4, the logical location for such a church is adjacent to the East and West axis, 38th Street, and the North and South axis, Cedar Avenue. The Open Door Congregational Church has not produced a history of growth, probably because it is too near other Congregational churches. Ebenezer Baptist Mission has discovered a place where there is real need for the ministry of such a church. If these two churches could be federated at the location indicated, the religious needs of the district would be far better met and there would be the possibility of a strong church where now there is a weak church and a mission.

Conclusions

The overchurching of this zone proves to be far more of a problem than is indicated by the single fact that there are too many churches.

Proper churching means enough, but not too many, adequate churches; but adequate churches cost money, and the problem is fundamentally economic.

Churches are made possible by the contributions of their constituencies. If the churches are to be institutionally well developed, the constituency must pay the bills. Hence if there are not enough people, paying at the rate they can afford, to make the churches of the community adequate, then they can have adequate churches only by having fewer, with relatively larger constituencies.

If the stabilized residential zone is to have proper churching it must have fewer and better churches.[1]

[1]For a full discussion of relationship of size and contributing ability to adequacy in churches, see Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

ADAPTING CHURCHES TO THE CHANGING RELIGIOUS NEEDS AT THE HEART OF THE CITY

The Situation

THE ZONE

The down-town district and zone of acute transition, which includes all of the sector north of the industrial and commercial line marked by the Lake Street axis, is composed of District I, the business center of the city, and the adjoining Districts II, III and IV. The three last mentioned contain the area of acute transition.

Two inevitable processes have accompanied the development of the city; first, the continuous pushing out of the frontier of residence, and second, the concentration, in an ever enlarging central area, of the business of the city. Beyond the advancing line of the business zone the old residents, whenever they have found it economically possible, have retreated. Their old houses remain, deteriorating rapidly because they are not worth repairing, and are used largely as the habitations of transient people. Multiple family dwellings, flats and apartment houses have sprung up here and there. Sandwiched in between them are other houses from which the better-to-do-home owners have gone to more pleasant places.

Such is the heart of the city. It is the point of confluence in the daily movement of multitudes of men and women. It is the area that people of the higher social and economic levels have left to find homes elsewhere; but it has been reoccupied by a different kind of people in greater numbers.

In the comparison of districts with respect to their social quality, it was pointed out that Districts I, III and IV ranked the lowest on the basis of the eight social factors used. This means that in these districts proportionately more babies die than in any other; there are more cases of tuberculosis per 1,000 people; the Family Welfare Association furnishes relief to more families in proportion to the total number; there are proportionately more roomers, and also more suicides; more boys and girls are brought into the juvenile court; more of the space is undesirable for living because of the presence of industrial and business

establishments; and, as would be expected from these factors, there is a lower average wealth as indicated by the current scale of rents. The other district of this area, Number II, stands in the group that are below average; and this, in spite of the fact that within it are three of the finest residential sections in the entire city. From a social and economic standpoint then it is evident that these new and different people, who have come to live in the heart of the city, are underpriviliged people.

THE PROBLEMS

The churches located in this area are confronted with radical changes; and, in consequence, find themselves face to face with the necessity of corresponding adaptation. Problems of adaptation, while not entirely confined to this area, are for the most part found here.

At the root of these problems lies the need of serving the people now living in the area with programs different from those to which the churches have traditionally been accustomed.

Nowhere in set terms does the Comity Declaration of the Minneapolis Church Federation recognize the principle of adaptation of old churches to changed conditions as involving a problem to be met by the application of comity processes. It has, however, in a considerable number of cases dealt with the necessities of peculiar groups of people and has approached the problem indirectly through discussions of the proper relationship of down-town and residential churches. Moreover, problems of adaptation were recognized at the outset of the survey by the appointment of a special committee of the Comity Committee to consider and report on them in the light of facts which the survey might reveal.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ZONE

The major characteristics of the down-town district and zone of acute transition are enumerated in Table III.

The growth of population in this zone has apparently reached its peak. The extension of the area used exclusively for business has already encroached upon the space available for housing in District I so that the population is steadily growing less. In District III the population has remained about stationary and will continue to remain so for a good many years, because the area taken over by business will be compensated for by multiple family structures. Districts II and IV have been increasing slightly in population and are expected to continue to do so because of an increasing number of apartment houses and rooming-houses. Already population in Districts II and III is the greatest in the city, while Districts I and IV are only slightly less dense.

The churches now in the heart of the city represent what remain of

TABLE III—CONDENSED DATA FOR DOWN-TOWN AND AREA OF ACUTE TRANSITION ZONE BY DISTRICTS

	Zone					
	Downtown District	Area of Acute Transition Districts			*Total for Zone*	*Total for Sector*
	I	II	III	IV		
Social Data						
Population						
Number 1928	16,944	51,583	36,447	31,067	136,041	264,776
Percent of Sector Population in Area	6	19	14	12	51	100
Estimated Percent Increase or Decrease						
1920–1928	−14	+12	−1	+8	+4	+34
1928–1937	−10	+ 9	+1	+10	+5	+16
1928–1945	−14	+13	+1	+14	+7	+28
Housing						
Characteristic Type	Apartment	Apartment	Apartment	Residence	Apartment	....
Density*	+Average	Densest	Densest	Average	Densest	....
Roomers*	Most	Most	Most	Average	Most	....
Relative Standing	Average	Below	Below	Above	Average	Below
Percent Foreign-born†	(Approx.) $1,500 or less	Average $4,000 or up	Average $1,500–2,500	Average $1,500–2,500	(Approx.) $1,500–2,500	Average
Characteristic Income Range						....
Rating by Eight Social Criteria*	Worst	—Average	Worst	Worst	Worst	....
Religious Data						
Churches						
Number	11	15	20	20	66	124
New 1920–28	0	1	2	2	5	23
Number of Denominations	8	7	10	12	24	26
Protestant Adherents						
Number Resident	2,606	12,374	9,002	9,365	33,347	79,376
Percent of Sector Total in Districts	3	16	11	12	42	100
Percent of Churched Protestant	65	67	74	83	73	76
Protestant Adherents Per Church	237	825	450	468	505	640
Percent of Population Churched	24	36	33	36	34	39
Churchgoing Movement						
Number Received	6,501	7,627	9,512	3,733	....	....
Number Given	1,325	4,108	4,675	3,954	....	....
Percent Received to Given	83	65	67	48	....	....
Type of District	Receiving	Receiving-Giving	Receiving-Giving	Neutral	Receiving	....
Characteristic Type of Parish	Very Scattered	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Population Per Church						
Resident	1,540	3,439	1,822	1,553	2,061	2,135
Available	2,527	3,556	2,234	1,323	2,307	1,873
Average Protestants per Church						
Constituency in Sector	695	1,005	658	401	665	580
Total Membership	909	983	655	336	672	498
Total S.S. Enrollment	525	477	295	217	353	302
Percent S.S. Enrollment of Church-membership	58	49	45	65	53	61
Growth of Churches	Characteristic of Zone		Very Divergent Tendencies			
Degree of Churching	Much Under-churched	Most Under-churched	Moderately Under-churched	Moderately Over-churched	Over-churched	Over-churched
Comity Cases						
Total Number	1	3	4	3	11	27
Organization	....	....	....	....	....	3
Relocation	....	....	2	....	2	5
Consolidation	....	....	....	3	3	11
Adaptation	1	3	2	....	6	7
Disbanding	....	....	....	....	....	1

*Compared with sector average.
†Compared with city average.

the historic churches of the sector. The first thirteen churches founded on the south side, between 1835 and 1870, are all still at work within the down-town and transitional zones. All told, eighty-three churches have been founded up to the present date. But of these, only sixty-six survive. This is the largest number there has ever been at any one time.

The denominational affiliation of the resident Protestant adherents in each district is given in Appendix Table IX. District II, because it has within it the principal churches of the major denominations of English-speaking antecedents, and because it has a relatively larger total number of resident Protestant adherents, is the district of primary importance for most of these denominations. District I, on the other hand, has a relatively small number of Protestant adherents, and is of primary importance only to the group of erratic churches and to the miscellaneous group of smaller denominations of English-speaking antecedents. District IV is a primary district for the Lutheran churches of the Augustana, Free, Missouri and Norwegian Synods; for the smaller denominations of foreign antecedents; and for the erratic group. District III is of secondary importance for the Methodist Episcopal; Presbyterian; the Lutheran churches of the Augustana, Missouri, Norwegian and United Synods; the smaller denominations of foreign antecedents; and the erratic group.

The Assumptions

In considering the problem of adaptation, it is again necessary to go back to the underlying theory to discover the principles involved. A resumé of the principles that have become evident is made in the following list of assumptions.

(1) The central and down-town portions of cities are generally inhabited by a varied assortment of distinctive groups of people of peculiar origins or other special characteristics. These populations often live in separate areas, of which the ghetto is a familiar type.

(2) The mark of down-town populations is differentiation. This contrasts with the homogeneous character of residential areas, whose people may differ in antecedents and wealth, but tend to abandon their previous distinctions (such as the use of a foreign language in worship), and to mix geographically rather than to keep separate.

(3) All types and varieties of down-town people need churches, and the churches must be differentiated according to the type of people served.

(4) In every city a certain limited group of down-town churches perform city-wide religious functions. They are related to remote con-

stituences as truly as, and sometimes more than, they are to adjacent ones. Such churches serve by drawing on remote districts. But they must at the same time, and through the same institutions, serve near-by populations.

(5) Such outstanding down-town churches must take a large share in the evangelizing of the unchurched living in remote districts. They have the prestige and the resources to win *at* a distance, as well as to draw *from* a distance those who are already won.

(6) Comity must consider the relations of these doubly responsible churches, (a) to the other churches of the down-town and central areas, (b) to the churches of the residential areas.

(7) Occupying the central areas of the city as a common geographical parish with a great variety of small localized churches, the great central churches must take their share of local responsibility through the adaptation of their religious ministries to the special types of down-town people, especially since they are so largely unchurched.

(8) Comity must consider the division of responsibility in the residential districts between churches with local and those with city-wide appeal, and must see that the principle of reciprocity is applied on the basis of the facts as periodically ascertained.

(9) Adaptation may be of two sorts. Either, (a) *instinctive,* as determined by what the special types of people want and realize when they have created their own churches, or (b) *deliberate,* as determined by the needs of special types of people, which are realized when churches possessing social and religious vision provide suitable facilities and programs.

(10) The ability of many of the distinctive groups of down-town population to provide churches that suit them should be respected and valued; but

(11) Comity should not permit overchurching and competition among the churches of any of the distinctive groups.

(12) Deliberate adaptation may be realized through (a) specialized institutions such as settlement and neighborhood houses; (b) through departments and special workers and programs within the city-wide churches; (c) in some measure and increasingly, by the assimilation of new populations into the old institutional relationships of these churches.

(13) Removal of churches that can neither prosper in view of changed conditions, nor adapt themselves to the change, is no remedy, from the comity standpoint, when they move into already overchurched territory. The consolidation of such churches with existing churches is accordingly to be approved, rather than for them to be crowded into already occupied areas.

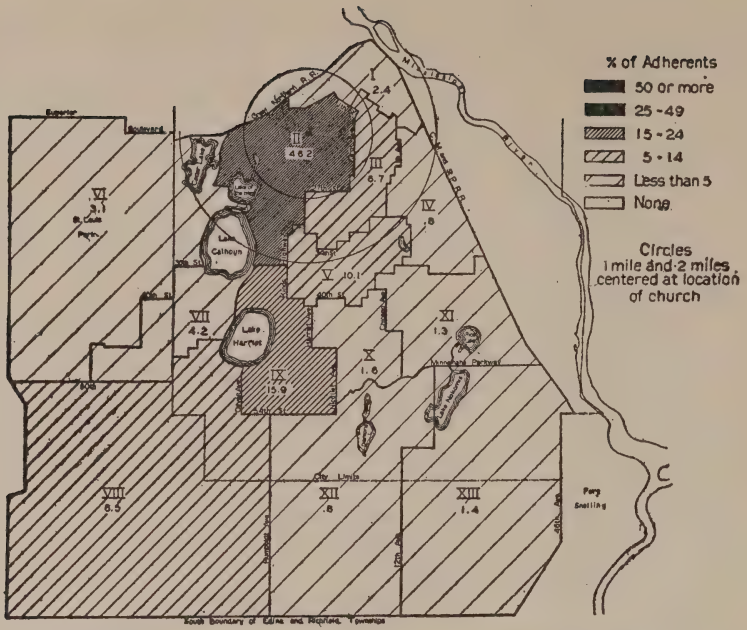
Comity Situations in the Light of the Assumptions

available population

The comparison of resident population per church and available population per church is given in Appendix Table VIII, and is seen in a comparison of Charts XV and XVII. District II is the most underchurched area of the city on both counts. District IV appears as overchurched on both; but Districts I and III which are overchurched on the basis of resident population change to underchurched on the basis of available population. The zone as a whole shows an increase of available over resident population per church of 12 per cent. In District I, it is 67 per cent.; in District II, only 3 per cent.; and in District III, 23 per cent. District IV shows a decrease of 21 per cent. If anything, then, in Districts I, II and III there are not enough churches; and if anywhere in this central zone there may be too many churches it is in District IV.

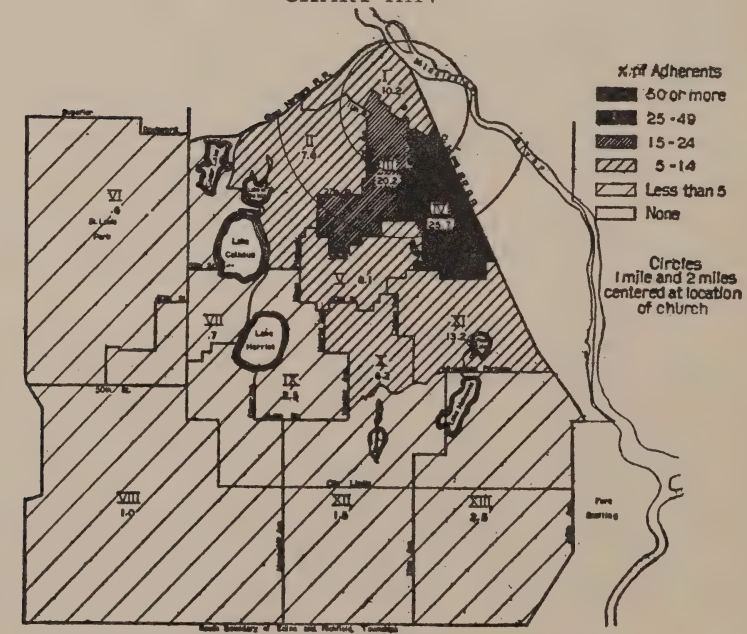
Fifty-one per cent. of the population of the sector resides in these four districts; 56 per cent. of the unchurched people of the sector live in the same. Of the total population of the four districts, 25 per cent. is accounted for by the adherents of Protestant churches, 9 per cent. is churched by non-Protestant churches, and 66 per cent. is unchurched. Ninety-one per cent. of the churched people who live in this zone attend churches within the zone and only 9 per cent. go outside to their churches. Of the total number of people that are churched by the sixty-six churches located here, 63 per cent. live in the zone, while 37 per cent. come from the other zones and represent every other district in the sector.

It has been assumed that if the unchurched people are to be churched at all, it is most probable that they will be churched along the same lines of movement as the present adherents. The application of the presupposition to the present case adds to the responsibilities of the churches of this zone, while it decreases those of the churches in the other zones. Of the total available population in the sector, 68 per cent., or something over 108,000 persons, are believed to be most available to the sixty-six churches of Districts I, II, III and IV. That would mean a constituency of more than 1,600 persons per church if the



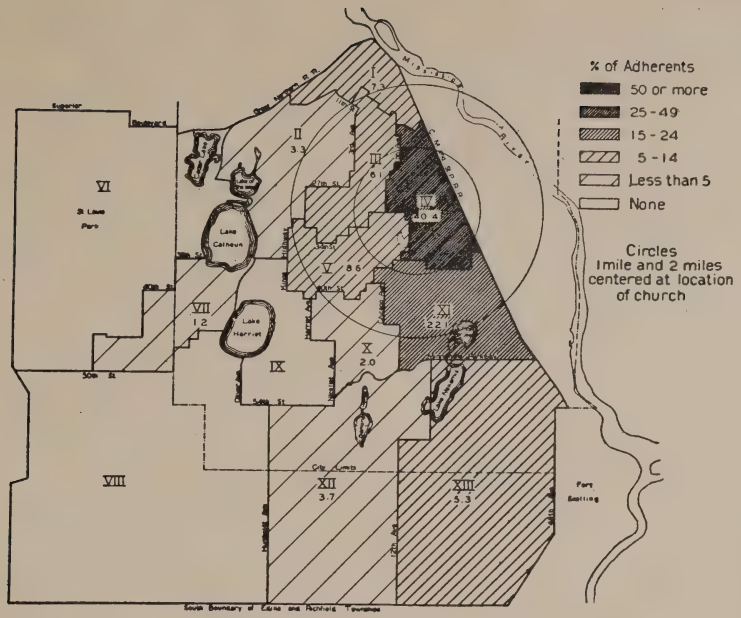
Parish Map - Hennepin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church
Medium Parish

CHART XXV

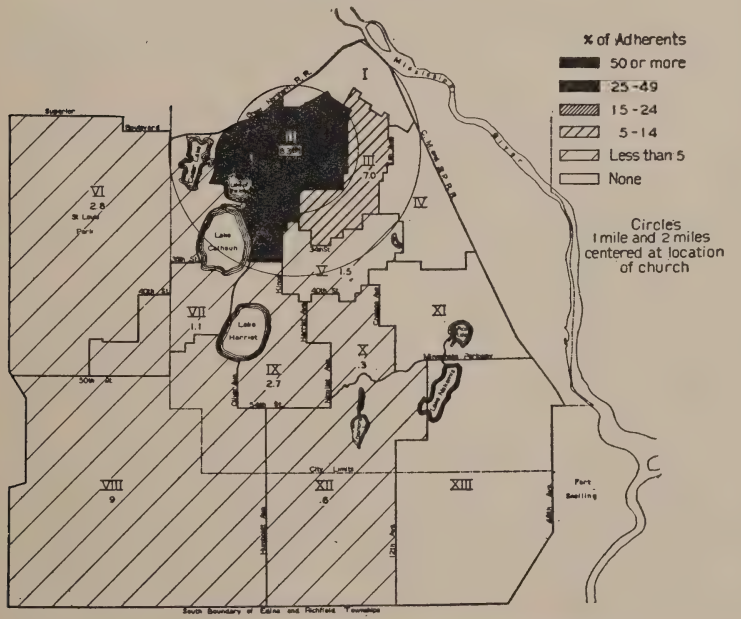


Parish Map - Swedish Tabernacle (Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant)
Very Scattered Parish

CHART XXVI



Parish Map - First Norwegian-Danish Methodist Episcopal Church
Scattered Parish
CHART XXVII



Parish Map - St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church
Compact Parish
CHART XXVIII

responsibility could be evenly distributed; but, of course, the actual relation of each church to the available population depends upon size and prestige and the adequacy of its program of adaptation.

Districts I, II and III are the principal receiving districts of the sector. District IV is Neutral, its receiving and giving being nearly equal. The receiving districts make up the major part of the zone. While the churches of this central area draw on their immediate vicinity to a larger degree than the central churches of many large cities, in part at least because of the number of neighborhood children in their Sunday schools, yet these districts have the highest per cent. of unchurched people.

It is apparently not easy for the churches in these districts to draw members from their own neighborhoods. They save others, their own surroundings they cannot save. And this the more because their developing prestige, which draws superior people, is essentially at war with efforts to serve handicapped people.

The great predominance of medium parishes in District II, caused partly by the fact that this district is much larger than the rest, makes the medium parish the modal parish of the zone, as it is of the whole sector. A typical parish of this district is shown in Chart XXV. However, the down-town district includes seven of the eight very scattered parishes in the city while the other one is in the acute transition area; so that all parishes of this type are in this one zone. Thirteen of the fourteen scattered parishes in the sector are also in the down-town and transitional zone. This is preëminently the place where the churches with large outreach are found. Charts XXVI and XXVII show two parishes of this type.

On the other hand, the zone has a significant number of compact and very compact parishes; 23 per cent., half of which are located in District IV. Where a church has adapted itself to a particular type of people, the result is a compact parish when the people are colonized; but when they are widely distributed over the city, the result is a parish of the scattered type.

EVIDENCES OF CHANGE

It is important to consider the evidences of change in the down-town and acute transition zone. The fact that the area is properly identified is shown in the fortunes of its churches since 1910. Churches have been founded rather rapidly; but an equal number have come in by removals from other districts. At the same time, half as many are moving to other districts as are coming from them; and two-thirds as many are disbanding as are being founded. Some churches are coming and some are going at the same time. This is not true anywhere else in the sector.

A further evidence of change is seen in the shifting of the rooming-house frontier. Spot maps of a sampling of roomers in 1920 and in 1927 show that this frontier shifted from Tenth Street to Nineteenth Street in the intervening period, and that it expanded by taking over the area west of Hennepin Avenue and north of The Parade.

Again the program of the City Planning Commission for the new Civic Center shows the city's consciousness of change. The new Civic Auditorium has been built in Grant Street, which has been widened and converted into a parkway as a major bypass street around the business district. The plat for the new civic center proposes that the central civic buildings be erected along Second Avenue between the Auditorium and the Art Gallery.

THE KINDS OF PEOPLE

Five kinds of people are differentiated from the ordinary run of folks in the problems they present to the churches; and they are particularly related to the central zone of the city either because it is where they live or because it is where their lives are centered.

(1) There are the economically submerged people who constitutionally are not able to take care of themselves and their families, with whom are mixed some whom the fortunes of life have left more or less temporarily dependent upon the community. (2) An occupational group of single men drawn from the horde of migrant workers of the northwest is found in the furnished rooms and old hotels at the very northern part of the sector. (3) There is also a habitational group, so designated because they live in the furnished rooms and small housekeeping apartments of the transitional area.

Dwelling partly in this area and partly drawn in from the outside are two other distinctive elements of population; (4) the most varied of them is composed of the racial and nationality groups; the Swedish, the Norwegian and Danish, the German, the Welsh and the Negro. (5) The fifth is a psychological group with three varieties; people with erratic forms of religion; down-town-minded people whose lives are so completely centered downtown that they think almost entirely in these terms; and the civic-minded people who see the city as a whole, are interested in its general affairs and participate in its large-scale enterprises.

THE ADAPTATION OF THE CHURCHES

On the basis of their reaction to the insistant demand for adaptation the sixty-six churches of the down-town and acute transition zone can be divided into two groups; the adapted churches, of which there are forty-three, and the unadapted churches, of which there are twenty-three.

The adapted churches are of two sorts; twenty-nine represent instinctive adaptation to the needs of peculiar people and fourteen have deliberately adapted themselves. The churches of instinctive adaptation are classified as: colored, three; Swedish, ten; Norwegian (including Danish), seven; German, one; Welsh, one; and erratic, seven. The deliberately adapted churches are: those with rescue ministry, two; those with social ministry, five; one with civic ministry; one with ministry of theological conservatism; and two with ministry of theological liberalism.

The twenty-three unadapted churches are divided between fifteen which continue as simply parish churches and eight which represent an enlarged denominational and cultural appeal.

The parish churches include eight which, because of their peculiarly favorable situations, as yet face no necessity for adaptation; and seven which, in spite of objective changes for the worse in their neighborhoods, remain as parish churches because the necessity of adaptation has not yet become urgent or simply because they are unready to meet the challenge.

This leaves eight churches, all of large city-wide significance, which are not adapted in the sense of the previous definitions. One will unhesitatingly recognize them as including a number of the largest, the most prosperous and the most important ones of the city. They are the cathedral churches of their respective denominations. One reason why they have not adapted themselves to specific local situations is that they are succeeding so ably in meeting the larger and more general urban situations. All have elaborated and enriched their programs. All are great in scope of service and in the loyalty and support of men and women of large affairs.

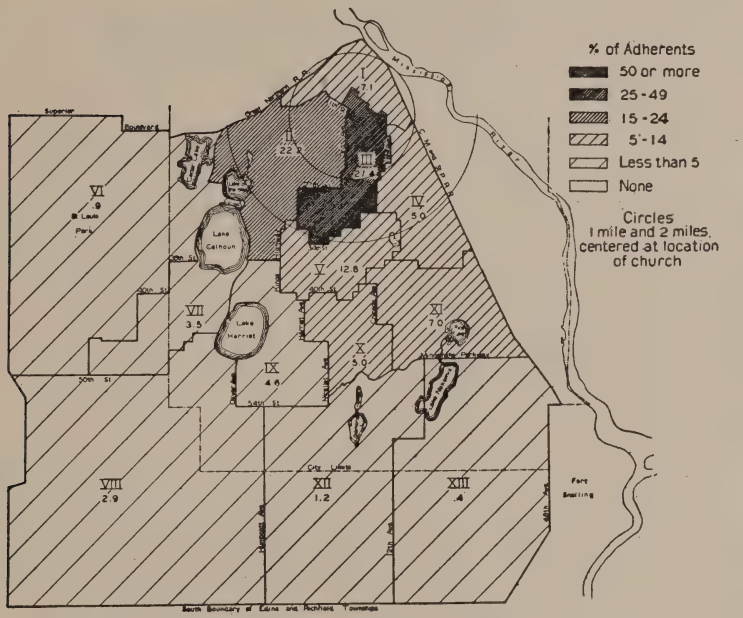
Located as most of them are in District II, one of the wealthiest of the city, they are able to draw many adherents selectively from the near vicinity. Consequently, as already noted, and as plainly shown in charts XXV, XXX, XXXI and XXXII, their parishes have not become separated from their neighborhoods as is frequently the case with churches of similar standing in other cities.

Again, the majority of the churches of this group have made the type of adaptation described in Assumption 12a.[1] They maintain branch churches, missions, or settlement houses in especially needy parts of the city but generally outside of the sector to which the present study is limited.

From the standpoint, however, of the various large new elements of population resident in the central area of Minneapolis with which these churches are physically associated, and in view of the many acute

[1]Page 68.

social handicaps which these populations are suffering and of the crying needs of some of the distinctive types, it is very desirable that more of these churches address themselves to programs directly reflecting the broad characteristics of the community and neighboring people, and that they do this under their own roofs. The problems of the downtown and central zone are primarily the problems of these great churches and only secondarily those of the more numerous but feebler churches which represent instinctive rather than deliberate adaptation.



Parish Map - Central Lutheran Church (N.L.C.)
Scattered Parish
CHART XXIX

EXAMPLES OF ADAPTATION AND ELABORATION

Some of the ways in which local adaptations have been made are illustrated in the following cases:

The most outstanding example and demonstration of deliberate adaptation in the city is Central Lutheran Church. Nine years ago eleven families started out to make an all-English, all-American Lutheran Church to minister to the passing throng in the transition area at the heart of the city; and this church now has a membership of over 2,000, with many more adherents. The magnificent new Gothic church

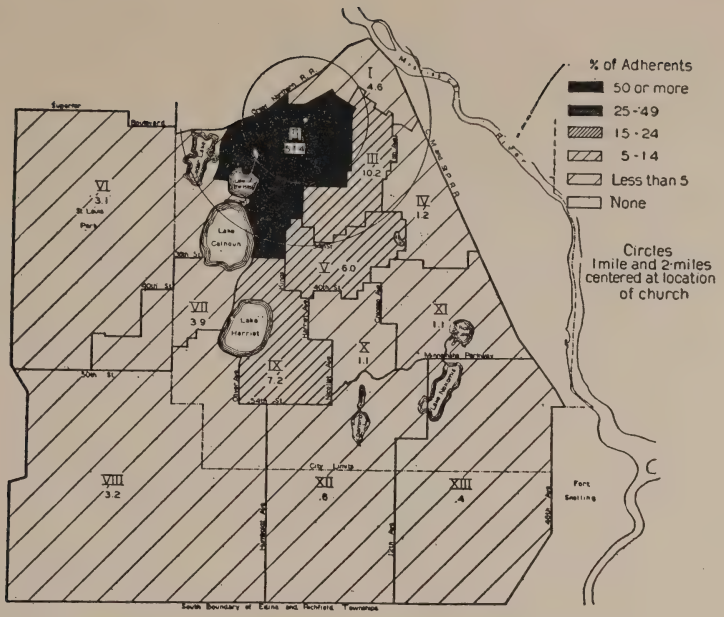
auditorium provides dignified and beautiful worship service to large crowds. The old church building, which was purchased after it had been deserted by a congregation that had dwindled away because of a lack of adaptation, is now used for all sorts of activities. A new social and religious life has been created for persons of all ages. Everything that could possibly be done with a limited staff and equipment is here; a Boy Scout troup; sewing and educational groups, especially for young business women; a men's club; women's societies; a junior and a senior chorus choir; concerts and social gatherings, the best of which perhaps is the homey fireside hour on Sunday afternoons. These have been meeting the needs of socially and religiously empty lives, particularly of the young people who have come to seek their fortunes in the city. Central Church Parish is shown on Chart XXIX.

The term "social ministry" is used in its broadest sense to include various ways of serving the socially underprivileged people of a community. It has this significance in connection with the adaptation of Simpson Methodist Episcopal Church. The range of this ministry extends from organized relief in coöperation with the social agencies through all sorts of group organizations and activities, to neighborhood programs of entertainment and movies every Friday afternoon for the children and every Friday evening for the older folk. There are boys' clubs and men's clubs, girls' clubs and women's societies. There are dramatic clubs and all sorts of athletic teams, several orchestras and trios, and a number of male and female quartets. There is an employment agency and there are summer camps. The young people have all sorts of activities, including skating parties in the basement. This is one of the best examples that the city affords of a ministry to the peculiar habitational groups who live in furnished rooms and apartment houses. But all of the social ministry is backed by strong religious services with popular preaching and varied feature programs. There is also a highly organized religious education department with a trained director in charge. Simpson has become the largest Methodist church in the city, its membership having tripled since 1920. People come from all over the city to participate in and back up such an extensive program.

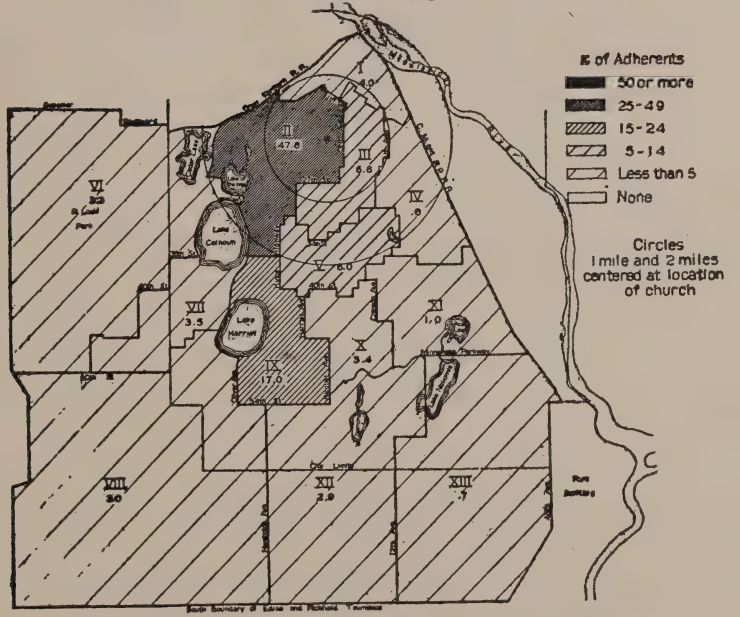
Gethsemane Church, Protestant Episcopal, and Wesley Methodist Church furnish other notable examples of community adaptation.

Elaboration of service programs with special enrichment and excellence in the ministry of religious education are illustrated by such outstanding churches as Plymouth Congregational, Hennepin Methodist, St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal and Westminster Presbyterian.

St. Mark's Church, for example, stresses the educational point of view. It has a highly organized, well-equipped, and modernly

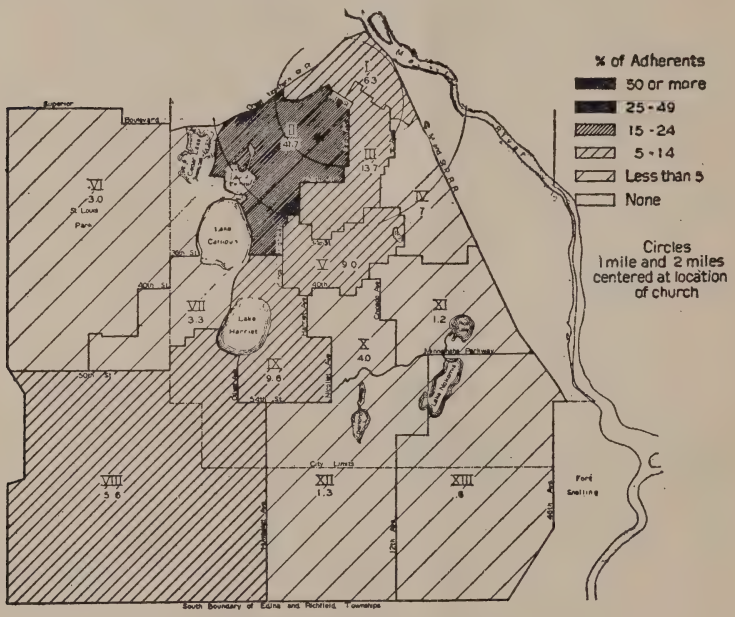


Parish Map - St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church
Medium Parish
CHART XXX



Parish Map - Plymouth Congregational Church
Medium Parish
CHART XXXI

programed work of religious education. Dramatics are used extensively as a part of the educational program. The rector conducts a very popular and well-attended class with a review of selected topics on Thursday evenings through the winter and a church history course on Sunday mornings. The preaching is highly educational in character, and is well responded to by a host of the unchurched people of this zone who attend the services occasionally. Their names are not on the books and the rector and his associates do not know who they are; but St. Mark's is their church. The vestry acknowledges its responsibility to the city beyond the limits of its own parish work by stipulating that a certain part of the rector's time be spent in community affairs. A map of St. Mark's parish is shown on Chart XXX.



Parish Map - Westminster Presbyterian Church
Medium Parish
CHART XXXII

OVERCHURCHED AREAS

As has been indicated, District IV appears to be moderately overchurched, chiefly because it has a number of small churches that minister to lesser groups of peculiar people with a limited program and outlook. The specific problems have been narrowed down to certain stranded churches that have not been able either to change adequately to fit the

needs of their situation or to remove to places where they can be of greater usefulness. Assumptions 10 and 11 apply to these cases.

Two of the stranded churches, Zoar Eielson Lutheran and Salem Norwegian Evangelical Free Church, situated across the street from each other, should be consolidated with Bethel Norwegian Lutheran Church which also uses the Norwegian language and is only a block and a half away. Zoar and Salem have between them 100 church-members and forty-five Sunday-school pupils, and are both D class churches. If their resources could be added to those of Bethel, the overhead expenses would be very materially reduced and a better program of adaptation could be provided.

The other stranded church, the Swedish Free Baptist, has forty-seven church-members and thirteen Sunday-school pupils. It is a C class church and has no paid pastor. It might well be consolidated with the First Swedish Baptist Church downtown, following the example set by the First Free Baptist Church in joining with one of the regular Baptist churches several years ago.

UNDERCHURCHED AREAS

Districts I, II and III form the greatest underchurched area in the sector, 66 per cent. of the population being unchurched. In District III there are not too many churches; but inability to make adaptations may compel some to relocate. Assumption 13 applies to these cases.

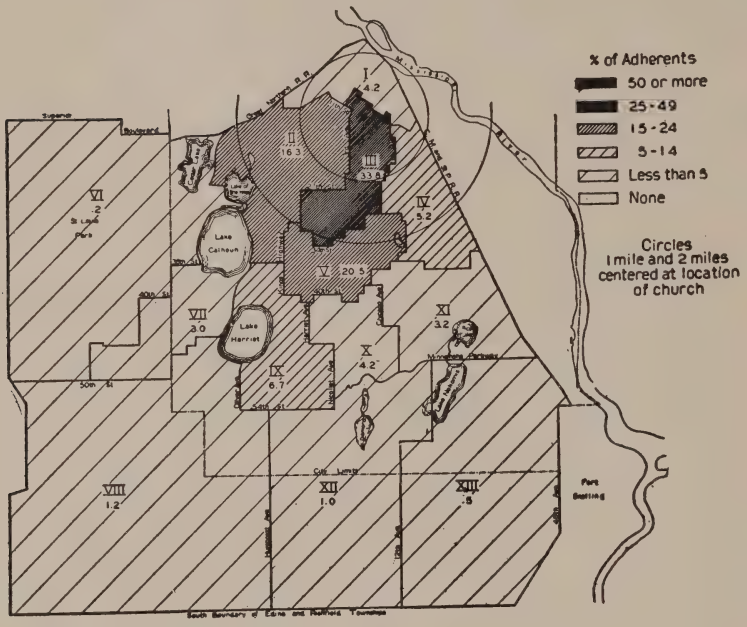
The following were recognized by the Findings Conference as presenting comity problems:

In District III, the Portland Avenue Church of Christ is facing the difficulty of adequately maintaining itself, let alone of making such adaptation as its situation calls for. The first responsibility of this church is obviously an adaptation to the types of people surrounding it; but if the capacity for adaptation continues to be lacking, then relocation must be faced. No place was discovered in the other zones where this church is needed as an independent organization. The only proper solution therefore, would seem to be its consolidation with one of the other churches of the same denomination, probably with the 48th St. Church of Christ, which is the weakest, is most in need of the resources of Portland Avenue Church, and has the best outlying location. This would strengthen greatly the present churching of District X. Chart XXXI shows the parish map of this church.

The First Presbyterian Church presents a situation similar to that of the Portland Avenue Church of Christ, but with the additional factor that it has been losing in membership and resources over a long period of years. This indicates its inability to adapt itself. If this church could be consolidated with the Knox Presbyterian Church it would give Knox

additional resources, which it greatly needs, and would make it more adequate for churching District IX. Such a removal also would clear the field for Park Avenue Congregational Church and increase its responsibility.

During the years of the last pastorate, the Park Avenue Congregational Church has rallied the interest and support of a somewhat scattered constituency. It is situated in the midst of a populous area with many unchurched people. A carefully wrought-out program of adap-



Parish Map - Portland Avenue Church of Christ
Scattered Parish

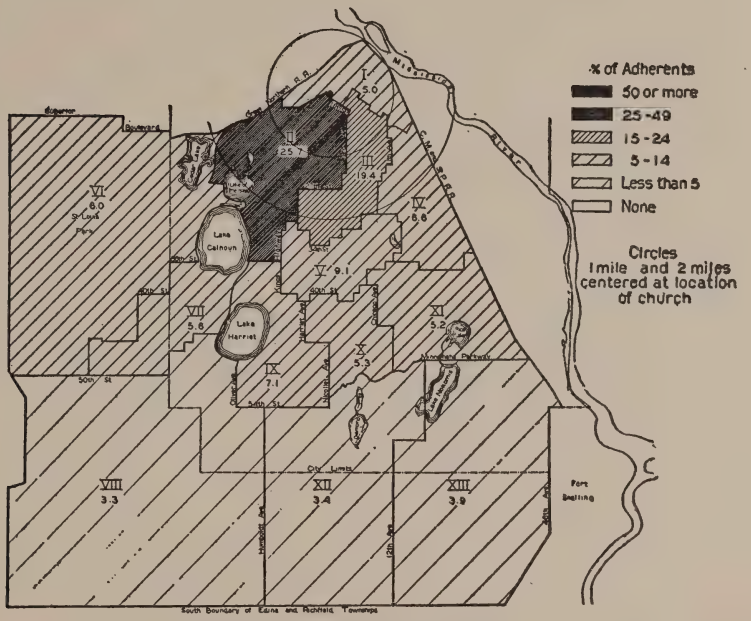
CHART XXXIII

tation to the people around the church should be developed. Assumptions 3, 7 and 12 apply to Park Avenue Church.

Another problem raised in the Findings Conference was that of the maintenance of the First Universalist Church of the Redeemer in its present type of ministry. This is the church farthest downtown. It has carried on a civic ministry for a long period, but in recent years has been losing in membership, in church-school enrollment, and in resources. Its property is very valuable. If it can carry on for a few years, its centrally located property might be used for an office build-

ing to re-establish the church's resources for a continuance of its ministry. Assumptions 3 and 4 apply to this case.

Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church is making a venture in adaptation with the erection of a new building for social and recreational purposes with an office building to provide increased resources. The First Baptist Church has adapted itself to a city-wide ministry of theological conservatism, but has not served the people living under its own eaves. The parish map of the First Baptist Church is shown in Chart XXXIV.



Parish Map - First Baptist Church
Very Scattered Parish

CHART XXXIV

Conclusions

Changes at the heart of the city have in large measure driven out the original constituencies of the old churches; but have not driven away the churches, which have found advantage in remaining in central or near-central locations and drawing constituents from a distance. They have developed a tendency to reach out farther and farther to follow their existing constituencies and their particular kinds of people.

New people, too, have moved into the near-by areas, and in greater numbers than before.

These have brought increasing concentration and congestion in the changed old areas; but the churches have, in large measure, reached past them to attract remote people. The failure of the churches to adapt themselves to the present types of near-by people with their new ways of thinking and different ways of living has left, in the heart of the city, a multitude unchurched and in need of ministry.

Here is a fact that should challenge the churches of this down-town district and zone of acute transition to undertake a specialized ministry and no longer to pass by on the other side.

Adaptation is not an easy process. It has many pitfalls. So many discouraging situations have been overcome, however, and so many successful methods of adaptation have been developed by the more enterprising city churches, that no obstacle can be said to be impassable and no situation hopeless. Where there has been the will, the way has been found.

A variety of adaptation is needed for a variety of people; but if too many churches were to try the same sort of program the result would be competition in adaptation. Fellowship and coöperation in a common task multiply the power of the churches many fold. An adequate program of adaptation to the various needs can be developed only as the many churches work together.

CHAPTER V

THE ADEQUACY OF CHURCHING

The Qualitative Considerations

So far the problems of comity have been considered on a quantitative basis. It has also been found, however, that the analysis of the characteristic comity problems of each zone leads to a consideration of the quality of the service rendered by the churches. Proper churching, then, in any type of situation can be said in the last analysis to depend upon adequate and efficient churching from an institutional standpoint.

The Comity Declaration of the Minneapolis Church Federation recognizes the principle of adequacy as a basis for comity decisions in the following terms:

> "Every field should be occupied by some church with physical equipment suitable and pastor and trained helpers adequate to meet the moral and spiritual needs of the community. It is furthermore understood that, if a church is to be recognized as having the exclusive right to occupy any given area, it must give evidence that it is able and willing to meet the religious needs of that community. If, after a reasonable time has elapsed, it shall be found that the church is not doing it and some other denomination wishes to enter the territory, it shall be the duty of the Comity Committee to resurvey the field, and after due consideration arrange to have some other church occupy the field."

Norms of Adequacy

A practical plan of comity requires at this point that norms of adequacy be determined. What physical equipment, how much of a staff, and what amount of money are necessary adequately to meet the moral and spiritual needs of a given community?

In the Minneapolis Survey (as in other surveys of the Institute of Social and Religious Research) provisional norms were arrived at by reference to the average performance of the group of churches under consideration. No arbitrary or external standard was applied. Thus measuring an individual church by the average of the group to which it belongs may certainly be regarded as yielding a fair and valuable comparison.

Comparisons of various aspects of the church have been made in

several ways. In the main, the quartile range has been used as a basis for classification; class A indicating the highest quartile, class B the quartile above average, class C the quartile below average, and class D the lowest quartile. In some instances, where there was a grouping apparently different from the quartile range, a value was assigned to the ranking letters indicating this range. A direct comparison has been made on some points, and numerical averages have been used in a few others.

The method of determining the various norms is explained in the Appendix in the section entitled "Norms of Adequacy," and the various rankings and comparisons of the churches are to be found in Appendix Table IV.

SIZE, FINANCE, PLANT AND STAFF

The norms of Size, Finance, Value of Plant, Equipment and Number of Paid Workers on the Staff are given in Table IV.

TABLE IV—NORMS OF SIZE, FINANCE, PLANT AND STAFF

Items of Comparison	Classes of Churches			
	D	*C*	*B*	*A*
Church-membership	151 or less	152-297	298-650	651-3,196
S. S. Enrollment	116 or less	117-230	231-274	274-2,083
Current Expenses	$3,250 or less	3,251-6,215	6,216-12,500	12,501 and over
Per Capita Contributions	$15.19 or less	15.20-21.07	21.08-29.48	29.49 and over
Value of Plant	$15,500 or less	15,501-40,250	40,251-88,750	88,751 and over
Number on Staff	1 or less	1½-2	2½-5	over 5

Direct comparisons have been used in church-membership and Sunday-school enrollment and in the number of paid workers on the staff. Where correlations are used involving church-membership and Sunday-school enrollment, the numerical averages, 498 in the former case, and 302 in the latter, are used.

The comparison of the size of church and of Sunday schools in Chart XXXV shows that there are more little Sunday schools than there are little churches. Sixty-six per cent. of the churches have fewer than 500 members, and 83 per cent. of the Sunday schools have fewer than 500 pupils.

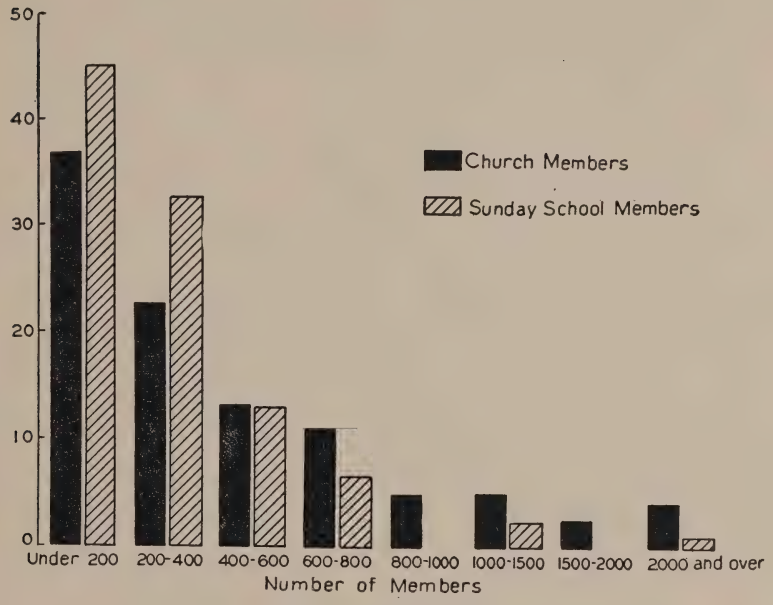
The median annual cost of running the churches is $6,215; and the contribution per member is $21. The median of the value of plant property and equipment is $40,250.

The range in the number of persons on the paid staff is from none

to twelve; but 58 per cent. of the churches have one or less, 26 per cent. have one and a half or two, and only 16 per cent. have more than two paid workers.

COMBINED INSTITUTIONAL CRITERIA

Fourteen items of organization and program, which are enumerated and explained in the Appendix, were taken from the questionnaires as a basis for the general ranking of the churches under the heading of



Church and Sunday School Enrollment Compared

CHART XXXV

"Combined Institutional Criteria." This is an index of various aspects of institutional strength devised to recognize the values of little churches. Thus, ratios between church-membership and attendance and between Sunday-school enrollment and attendance, and also the per capita financial support were substituted for total membership, enrollment and current expense figures on which the little churches would appear deficient. All that is claimed for this method is that it gives a fairer basis of comparison than the usual methods.

Each church was given a quartile-ranking on each of the fourteen items that was a part of its work. Four was used to represent the

highest quarter and one the lowest. These scores were added together and divided by the number of items on which each church was ranked to get the average score. This represented the average standing of each church in the items actually forming parts of its organization and program. The results were then classified as shown by the first column of Table V. Churches whose average score was 2.5 or over were put in Class A; churches whose average was 2.0 to 2.4 in Class B, etc. According to this method more churches fell in Class B than in any other. A classification of the churches on this basis is found in Appendix Table IV.

TABLE V—CLASSIFICATION OF CHURCHES ON COMBINED INSTITUTIONAL CRITERIA

Class	*Range of Average Score*	*No. of Churches In Class*
A	2.5 and Over	30
B	2.0 — 2.4	40
C	1.5 — 1.9	35
D	1.4 and under	19

GROWTH

One of the clearest indices of the status of a church is its growth in church-membership and Sunday-school enrollment over a period of years. As a positive index, moderate or rapid growth indicates a healthy church; as a negative index, lack of growth indicates the presence of some other explanatory factors which should be correlated with it. The source of data for the growth indices is explained in the Appendix; and the indices for the churches, for which information was at hand, are given in Appendix Table IV. The meaning of the classifications, and the number of churches and of Sunday schools in each class, are given in Table VI.

TABLE VI—CLASSIFICATION ON THE BASIS OF GROWTH

Class	*Classification*	*Per Cent. Range*	*No. of Churches in Class*	*No. of Sunday Schools in Class*
A	Rapid increase	over 125	26	17
B	Moderate increase	60-125	19	26
C	Slight increase	15-60	19	14
D	Stationary	under 15	3	11
E	Losing	——	14	13

More churches are gaining in membership than in Sunday-school enrollment; and they are gaining at a more rapid rate. About the same number are losing in each case; but more Sunday schools than church memberships are standing still.

There are thirty churches receiving Home Mission Aid ranging from $100 in the case of the Richfield Methodist Episcopal Church to $5,000 in the case of the Trinity Missouri Synod Lutheran Church. Of the churches receiving aid, 50 per cent. are in the newer residential zone, 37 per cent. in the stabilized residential zone, and 13 per cent. in the down-town and acute transition zone. The class of the individual churches receiving aid is given in Appendix Table IV, and the classification and number of churches in each class are in Table VII.

TABLE VII—CLASSIFICATION OF HOME MISSION AID

Class	*Range* $	*No. of Churches in Class*
A	300 or less	7
B	301—800	8
C	801—1,400	8
D	1,401 and over	7

ADEQUACY OF CHURCHES BY DISTRICTS AND ZONES

The average church of the various districts and zones varies: the norms are shown in Table VIII.

In the down-town and acute transition zone the churches are considerably above the sector average in size and number of staff. They have the most valuable plants, partly because of the greater value of their land, and the largest current expense budgets. The ranking on the combined institutional criteria shows A and B class churches to predominate, but the ranking in per capita giving is relatively lower. It is significant that the largest churches with the most highly developed programs are the most economical from the standpoint of the individual members.

In the stabilized residential zone the churches are below the sector average in size and staff. The values of buildings and the current expense budgets are less than those of down-town churches. On the combined criteria, B and C class churches predominate, and the per capita giving is relatively higher.

In the newer residential zone, as would be expected, are found the smallest churches with size of church-membership, Sunday-school enrollment, and staff much below average. D class buildings and current expense budgets are the characteristics, and on the combined criteria the churches are predominately C and D class. In per capita giving, however, the largest numbers are A class, with almost as many of D class. Apparently the characteristic churches of this zone cost the members most and give them least.

TABLE VIII—NORMS OF CHURCHES BY DISTRICTS AND ZONES

Districts	Average Church Membership	Average S.S. Enrollment	Average No. on Staff	Number of Churches in Each Class: Value of Building A	B	C	D	Current Expenses A	B	C	D	Per Capita Giving A	B	C	D	Combined Institutional Criteria A	B	C	D
I	909	525	3+	2	5	0	1	4	2	0	2	0	1	5	2	4	4	1	2
II	983	477	4−	10	3	2	0	12	2	1	0	5	5	3	2	10	3	2	0
III	655	295	2−	8	4	4	3	6	7	4	3	3	5	3	9	7	6	5	2
IV	336	217	1+	4	3	7	3	3	4	7	4	6	5	2	5	3	8	6	3
Down-town and Acute Transition Zone	672	353	2½	24	15	13	7	25	15	12	9	14	16	13	18	24	21	14	7
V	349	270	1½	0	4	4	2	1	2	6	1	1	2	5	2	0	7	3	0
IX	520	279	1+	2	3	0	1	3	2	0	1	2	4	0	0	2	2	1	2
X	266	260	1+	1	0	2	3	1	0	2	3	2	2	0	2	2	1	1	2
XI	328	273	1+	0	2	6	2	0	2	7	0	2	1	4	2	0	4	5	1
Stabilized Residential Zone	360	271	1+	3	9	12	8	5	6	15	5	7	9	9	6	4	14	10	5
VI	121	178	1−	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1
VII	225	205	1+	0	1	4	3	0	3	2	3	4	1	2	1	2	2	2	2
VIII	190	216	1½	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	2
XII	165	177	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	3	0
XIII	247	265	1−	0	2	0	5	0	2	0	5	1	0	1	5	0	1	4	2
Newer Residential Zone	208	223	1	1	3	8	13	0	7	4	13	9	2	5	8	2	5	11	7
South Sector	498	302	1½+	28	27	33	28	30	28	31	27	30	27	27	32	30	40	35	19

TABLE IX—NORMS OF CHURCHES BY DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	Average Church Membership	Average S.S. Enrollment	Average No. on Staff	Number of Churches in Each Class: Value of Building A	B	C	D	Current Expenses A	B	C	D	Per Capita Giving A	B	C	D	Combined Institutional Criteria A	B	C	D
Baptist	740	443	2½	4	3	1	4	5	2	1	2	2	4	3	1	4	4	2	2
Congregational	410	285	1½	4	2	6	2	4	3	4	3	3	5	6	0	5	3	4	2
Disciples	242	228	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	2	1
Lutheran	476	255	1	6	8	11	9	5	9	10	10	5	4	8	17	3	11	13	10
Methodist Episcopal	765	510	2½	4	4	3	3	5	4	3	2	1	3	5	5	5	6	3	0
Presbyterian	674	405	2	5	3	1	1	5	2	3	0	2	4	3	1	5	4	1	0
Protestant Episcopal	490	224	2½	3	2	1	3	3	2	1	3	4	3	0	2	3	2	3	1
Miscellaneous	299	200	1½	2	4	8	5	3	5	7	6	12	3	2	4	4	10	7	3
All Churches	498	302	1½+	28	27	33	28	30	28	31	27	30	27	27	32	30	40	35	19

ADEQUACY OF CHURCHES BY DENOMINATIONS

The standards of experience, as well as the accepted standards, of the various denominations are somewhat different, as is shown in Table IX.

The denominations whose average size and staff are above the sector average are the Baptist, the Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterian. The Protestant Episcopal churches are about average in church-membership, and above average in size of staff, but fall below average in Sunday-school enrollment. The Baptist churches, on the various rankings, stand characteristically above the average except in per capita giving where they are predominately below average. The Congregational denomination apparently has too many churches to be able to maintain its usual standards. Within the Congregational body two tendencies appeared in these rankings; there was an above-average group of larger, well-established churches, and a below-average group of newer churches started around the fringe of the city without enough assistance to enable them to reach the denominational standard. The few Disciples churches vary too greatly to indicate any characteristics. The Lutheran churches fall below the average throughout, especially so in per capita giving. The Methodist Episcopal churches are considerably above average in current expense budget and the combined criteria, somewhat above average in value of buildings, but way below it in per capita giving. The Presbyterian churches are consistently well above average, except in per capita giving. The Protestant Episcopal churches are slightly above average, except in per capita giving where they stand far above. The miscellaneous churches show a divergent tendency due to their wide range of variety. They are predominately below average except in per capita giving where they stand well at the top, showing, for the most part, that the small groups that want their own kind of churches are willing to pay at a very high rate to have them.

THE EFFICIENT CHURCH

The perennial question in church extension and comity considerations is "How large should a church be to be efficient?" This can be resolved basically into an economic problem. Its adequacy and efficiency depend primarily upon the amount of money that can be spent per year to run the church. In other words, any church can have the kind of program that its members can pay for. In turn the ability to pay depends upon the number of contributors and the amount they can afford to give.

The average South Sector church has 500 members and 665 constituents, representing an available population of 1,933 and a total resi-

dent population of 2,135. The average per capita giving is $21 a year; and at this rate the best that the average church can be is second class. To make it first class, the contributors would have to give at the highest rate, $29 per year; but the constituencies of only one-fourth of the churches have shown themselves able to give at this rate.

The number of contributing members required by different classes of churches at different rates of per capita giving, and the corresponding number of constituents and population they would represent, are shown in Table X.

TABLE X—NUMBERS NECESSARY TO PROVIDE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF CHURCHES AT DIFFERENT RATES OF GIVING

Per Capita Giving Rate		*C Class* (Minimum Cost $3,200)	*B Class* (Minimum Cost $6,300)	*A Class* (Minimum Cost $12,500)
$15	Members	213	420	833
	Adherents	283	559	1,108
	Population	944	1,861	3,690
$21	Members	152	300	595
	Adherents	202	399	791
	Population	673	1,329	2,636
$29	Members	110	217	431
	Adherents	146	289	573
	Population	487	961	1,909

It can readily be seen that at the average rate of per capita giving the average church in this group would have to be 20 per cent. larger than it is at present, and would have to represent a population 20 per cent. larger than the average church now does, in order to reach the status of a minimum first-class church. But 65 per cent. of the churches of the South Sector have 500 or less members, half of the churches are under 300 in membership and one-fourth have fewer than 150 members. This means, that as things are, only one-third of the churches have a fair chance of becoming adequate and one-quarter of the churches, even if the highest rate of per capita contributions were possible to them, could only achieve third-class status.

HOW ADEQUACY AFFECTS COMITY

Since the adequacy of a church is primarily a matter of the ability of its constituency to provide enough money, all the problems of comity are ultimately related to the economic status of the community. The economic study of the *Minneapolis Journal* mapped four levels of wealth in the city; the lowest level with a characteristic income under $1,500, the level below average representing incomes of $1,500 to $2,500,

the level above average representing $2,500 to $4,500, and the highest level with characteristic incomes over $4,500. In as much as the majority of churches draw a large proportion of their membership from near by, and most of the rest from neighborhoods of similar economic character, the economic index of the locality of the church is a fair index of the ability of its people to give. People of the lowest economic level obviously cannot afford a high rate of per capita giving. It is true that some of the eccentric groups give at a per capita rate very high in proportion to their per capita wealth; but on the whole piety cannot make poor people give beyond their ability.

A proper distribution of the churches, involving as it does the number of churches that are maintained, controls very largely the class of churches that will be developed. At least half the people of the South Sector must have fewer churches or they will continue to have poor ones. Most of the other half must have fewer churches or their churches will not be good enough. Only a few of the largest churches have memberships large enough to provide first-class churches at any less than the rate of per capita giving of the highest quarter.

In organizing new churches their future can be approximately determined against an analysis of the economic level of the community and the present and prospective population. In the early stage of the development of churches Home Mission Aid can be a factor but at best this is only a temporary bridge. When the number of churches started is out of reasonable proportion to the economic possibility of the community they are obviously destined at least to mediocrity. When such a situation is complicated by sectarian competition the institutional quality of the churches is seriously cut down.

The problems of adaptation, no less than the other problems, have an underlying economic phase. Programs of adaptation are among the most expensive of church programs. Every church undertaking such a program should count the cost and analyze its resources lest it find itself unable to finish what it undertakes.

Conclusion

When the survey reaches the verdict "overchurched" against most of the area of the South Sector, it does not mean merely that there are organizational infelicities, or that the situation is a moral affront to the spirit of coöperation. It inevitably means that most of the people are getting a low quality of religious service. It means that the city cannot be proud of many of its churches because they do not match the city's standards in public institutions.

Comity ought to be able to control the number of churches, and to reduce it, in the interest of better quality of institutional service to the majority of the people.

In this analysis of the adequacy and efficiency of the churching of the South Sector, no attempt has been made to appraise spiritual values. It is well understood that there may be such values in abounding measure in the most inadequate and inefficient churches; but as a matter of fact they are generally not found in such circumstances.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter an attempt is made to summarize the outstanding conclusions of the survey. It is concerned neither with the capacity, the motives, nor the fraternal spirit of the men who are operating comity, for they are typical of Protestant leaders generally; nor with a critical appraisal of the Minneapolis machinery of comity. The means for this latter appraisal are supplied by a comparative study of comity practices in Church Federations in twenty cities, which shows that Minneapolis belongs to the group of cities whose conception of comity is the most positive and constructive. As an aid to self-improvement, the Minneapolis Federation will do well to consider the report of this general study.[1]

THE COMITY COMMITTEE

The present study covered about half the churches of Minneapolis. This represented a venture in comity on a wholesale scale that went far beyond any previous experience of the Federation. Many new principles found necessary were accepted. Others which the survey seemed to point to as necessary the committee was not ready to accept as valid; and some questions were raised as to the proper application of the principles.

The process of dealing with the problems made it apparent that there are numerous factors of great importance which have hitherto been omitted from the thinking of the Federation. The analysis of the comity problems is made difficult because of an incomplete and insufficient theory based upon an inadequate understanding of the genius of cities and of the peculiar terms of human association under urban conditions. There is no adequate philosophy of urban churchmanship to guide an effort to deal with problem cases. This verdict is in no way a condemnation; it simply indicates the stage of evolution at which comity thinking has arrived in Minneapolis, and also pretty generally among American Protestant churches.

The more significant of the conclusions are here brought together. These reveal the factors essential to an understanding of the comity

[1]H. Paul Douglass, *Church Comity; a Study of Coöperative Church Extension in American Cities* (Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929).

situation. An enumeration of certain problems still beyond the reach of comity as it is practiced is added.

MOBILITY OF URBAN POPULATION

The mobility of city people, and their tendency to find churches at a distance from their homes, is the dominant factor in the urban church situation. In Springfield, Massachusetts,[2] where the churchgoing movement was also traced, as well as in the South Sector of Minneapolis, more than half of all the churched Protestants leave their home neighborhoods to attend church.

The cause is not even the lack of near-by churches of the denominations to which the people hold allegiance, for they often pass by, not only their neighborhood church, but also churches of their own denominations. Such an outgoing movement is obviously to be expected in the suburban fringe of newer cities where the churches are few and far apart; but it is to be found also in the newer residential areas and in the stabilized residential areas as well. Apparently it is neither a peculiar nor a temporary phenomenon, but rather a characteristic of urban life.

AVAILABLE POPULATION

The basic factor in comity decisions is accordingly a scientific determination of available population in connection with the problems involving new churches and the relocation of old ones. The churchgoing movement of people is far more significant to these problems than is the place of their residence, and furnishes far the more reasonable basis for fixing responsibility for the unchurched.

CLUSTERING OF CHURCHES

In the older and more stabilized residential areas of cities the clustering of churches about secondary centers under conditions of average density of population is to be expected and desired. Centers mark points of accessibility and convenience; and are of as much advantage to churches as to other institutions or to business establishments. Exclusive geographical parishes have no value where there are from 25,000 to 100,000 people living within a mile radius of any point.[3]

The clustering of churches, however, should be carried out on a rational principle of complementary distribution such as is indicated in Assumption 7 of Chapter III; and the carrying out of the principle should be the concern of the comity committee. Such a method of dis-

[2]H. Paul Douglass, *The Springfield Church Survey,* (Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1926).
[3]Robert E. Park, *The City* (University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 52 and 148 f.

tributing churches affords variety within a given area; and their location at a focal point provides many people with convenient access to the church of their preference.

THE COMPLICATED RELATIONSHIPS OF DOWN-TOWN CHURCHES

Some of comity's most difficult problems arise out of the complicated relationships of the down-town churches with the entire city. The characteristic of the people connected with down-town churches is that they are of different kinds, some of which are localized in the down-town area while others are scattered throughout the city. It is with the ministry to these peoples that the down-town church is concerned.

On account of their specialized ministries, and because their prestige and resources enable them to evangelize the unchurched in remote districts, the great central churches share with the scattered churches responsibility for all the various essential areas of the city.

But the central churches must also assume their share of responsibility for their own localities. Through these processes the down-town churches are thrown into peculiar relationship with the churches of the residential area and also with one another. Comity must consider these relationships and provide ways and means for achieving full reciprocity.

The scientific service of all the down-town churches is adaptation, either instinctive or deliberate.[4] Comity is concerned with the recognition and fostering of instinctive adaptation, which may be developed into broader deliberate adaptation, and with the prevention of competition within the same type of adaptation.

Reciprocity, and the complementary planning of adaptation programs by the down-town churches, call for continuous coöperation on their part, and this might well be carried on in a subsidiary council of down-town churches as a part of the comity committee.

The removal of centrally located churches that fail to adapt themselves makes it more difficult, as a rule, to care for the underchurched areas in the heart of the city, and also complicates the problem of overchurching in other areas into which they move. Apparently the only solution in such cases is the consolidation of the moving church, probably with another church of its own denomination located in the area where it wants to be.

Unsettled Problems

There are certain problems that go beyond the reach of comity because of its present limitations: some because the grounds are not clear either owing to lack of experience and consequent understanding, or

[4]See pages 67 and 68.

because mooted principles are involved; some because of the limitations by which coöperation is circumscribed; and some because they are within spheres narrower than the sphere of coöperation. These problems can only be enumerated without any suggestion as to their solution; yet they have all been encountered in the process of this survey.

DENOMINATIONAL PROBLEMS

The solution of all problems of comity to a large extent falls back upon the denominations; but there are certain problems that are confined to the denominations themselves. The distribution of the churches of the same denomination so that competition is avoided between churches of the same denomination is such a problem. Other problems are the proper place to invest Home Mission funds and how much to invest in each case, and the maintenance of the denomination's standards for its own churches.

THE MINOR DENOMINATIONS

The right of the minor denominations to exist is unquestioned; yet just how they can have a place in the sun and be properly integrated into the whole scheme of proper churching is still undetermined. Each case must be considered on its individual merits until a wider experience has evolved an adequate general theory.

Alongside of the problem is the question of how long it is necessary or desirable to hold over the historical distinctions when they have ceased to have reality or advantage. When a church has long since stopped using its particular foreign language, is it necessary to maintain its nationality differentiation?

EXTENSION OF COÖPERATION

In a city like Minneapolis, where groups like the Lutherans, which to say the least are not wholly coöperative, have such a large share of the churches and are implicated in so large a proportion of the comity problems, the extension of coöperation to include these churches is a paramount problem. It might be said that in some cases, where the solution of a problem is very obviously to the advantage of a church of such a group, the church might carry out the proposal of the coöperative planning without in any way implicating itself in the theory or practice of coöperation. At any rate, purely from the standpoint of their own advantage and future welfare without any consideration of Christian brotherhood or coöperation, these churches should carefully consider matters of comity and their strategic and institutional relationships to the other churches.

MISSIONS

There are two possible policies with respect to the founding of a mission where coöperative church extension is practiced. First, by the allocation in advance of a permanent field to some denomination. This necessitates a decision largely on the basis of the existing distribution of the churches of the various denominations and the denominational readiness to undertake adequately a new project. The second is by initiating work under interdenominational auspices and carrying it on until the area develops and can indicate its denominational preference. Then an allocation to one of the denominations can be made on the basis of the considerations mentioned under the first policy, with the addition of a knowledge of the preference of the people of the area.

Another problem in the founding of missions lies in the fact that they are often established by individual churches, particularly those with a congregational form of government, as service stations to some of their own people who have settled in groups at a distance, or to provide opportunities of service for the people of the churches that founded them. In both cases the missions are usually undertaken independently without denominational sanction or comity clearance. The problem is how to obtain these objectives and preserve comity; for these missions more often than not develop into churches.

CHURCH SITES

One of the important factors in beginning a new church is that it be located at just the right place. It is also necessary that sites for churches be purchased before real estate values have made the proper sites prohibitive. But how and when can the right place be known, and who should be responsible for the selection? Should sites be purchased by the various denominations in advance of need for the churches, or should an interdenominational holding corporation take over this responsibility? Such holding corporations are being tried in two or three of the large American cities. In these days of highly developed city planning it can be pretty well known in advance how areas are going to develop and where strategic locations will be. The control of church sites is certainly a matter for which comity should be responsible.

COMMUNITY CHURCHES

Community service has been considered throughout this study in terms of denominational churches with a policy and program of community ministry, or in terms of federated churches. It is highly possible, however, that certain types of areas can best be ministered to by interdenominational churches under church federation auspices. Cer-

tainly this is true as a temporary measure in many situations. In some cities interdenominational churches are maintained in connection with the church federation for the ministry to certain minority groups of foreign-speaking people. The practical extent of such interdenominational service has not yet been determined.

SPECIAL COÖPERATION AMONG CLUSTERED CHURCHES

One of the advantages of the clustering of churches, theoretically at least, is that it provides the possibility of common institutional equipment and common staff. One completely equipped and adequate plant for recreation, community service and religious education, at least on the secondary school level, might be within the realm of possibility for a group of churches when out of the question for any one alone, and still more so for every one independently. Duplication of such equipment at the focal points where churches are clustered is certainly in most cases a serious waste. If groups of contiguous churches had common and coöperative programs, it would be possible to have a common staff with a variety of trained specialists; while if each church is working by itself there can be only small competitive staffs.

COMPLICATIONS OF ADAPTATION

The social distance often existing between the typical adherents of a church and the people living in the vicinity of the church whom it should serve makes a difficult problem. As one official board member in discussing adaptation expressed it, "Can you make oil and water mix?" Nevertheless this situation has sometimes been overcome, and churches have developed ministries to dual constituencies in a perfectly natural manner, whereby the resources of a wealthy constituency have made possible a work for less fortunate peoples.[1]

Some churches unfortunately show a still more serious lack of adaptiveness. Thus a conservative conception of the church on the part of its constituency limits its sphere to a very narrow program. Again churches are found that are maintained for the virtually exclusive purpose of ministering to their own constituencies. In either case the church has not been comprehended as an organization for service.

The central churches of the smaller denominations and the second central churches of the larger denominations often find that their constituencies have not grown, and that their older members, who are the chief supporters, are dying off. Such a condition of diminishing resources is serious in a situation that calls for adaptation.

[1]For an illustration of such an adaptation, see H. Paul Douglass, *The Church in the Changing City*, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1927, p. 246 f. Other types of adaptation are illustrated in the other chapters of this book.

These unsettled problems cast their shadows on all present plans for proper churching; and their ultimate settlement can come only through greater experience and the further growth of coöperative imagination and ideals.

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGY AND TABLES

POPULATION

For the 1920 population figures, the basis was the 1920 U. S. Census population as taken by the small census precincts. The precincts and fractions of precincts that made up each school district were determined and the population of the several precincts were added together to obtain the school district populations. The totals for the school districts in each survey district gave the population of that district.

For the 1925 population, an estimate made by the City Planning Commission on the basis of the 1920 census precincts corrected for changes in type of housing, new housing structures erected, etc., was used and built up in the same manner as for 1920.

One of the important public service corporations made a commercial survey in 1921, which gave the number of families in small house-count sections, and on this basis made an estimate of the number of families expected to reside in each of these small sections in 1931, 1937 and 1945. The accuracy of this estimate has been periodically checked and has been found to be reasonably correct.

The 1928 estimate of population was made by taking eight-tenths of the estimated increase or decrease in the number of families between 1921 and 1931 for each house-count section and adding it to the 1921 number for the number of families in 1928. This was multiplied by the number of persons per family of the ward in which each house-count section was located. The house-count sections and corresponding population estimates, calculated as just indicated, were built up to school districts and the school districts to survey districts.

The estimates for 1937 and 1945 were made from the estimated number of families for these years for each house-count section, multiplied by the estimated persons per family and built up to school districts and survey districts.

The population of each survey district for each of these years is shown in Appendix Table I.

SOCIAL CRITERIA

The data for infant mortality were obtained from a spot map of the infant deaths in 1927, furnished by the Hennepin County Infant

APPENDIX TABLE I—POPULATION BY SURVEY DISTRICTS—SOUTH SECTOR OF MINNEAPOLIS

District Number	*Designation*	*1920*	*1925*	*1928*	*1937*	*1945*
I	Down-town	19,635	20,279	16,944	15,233	14,697
II	Loring Park-Kenwood	45,960	50,565	51,583	56,415	58,239
III	Central	36,621	36,977	36,447	36,808	36,865
IV	East Side	28,708	30,965	31,067	34,124	35,455
V	Lakewood-Powderhorn	22,554	25,134	29,984	34,293	36,154
VI	Cedar Lake, St. Louis Park	3,165	5,174	7,734	11,969	16,952
VII	Linden Hills	4,934	7,531	11,302	14,671	17,878
VIII	South Lake Harriet	2,835	5,202	12,196	16,846	21,173
IX	Lynnhurst	8,117	11,602	14,722	16,937	17,923
X	South Central	7,242	9,498	12,560	15,338	16,190
XI	Rice Lake	12,183	16,012	23,428	29,140	32,971
XII	Richfield	1,465	3,937	5,883	10,050	13,431
XIII	Minnehaha-Nokomis	3,816	7,740	10,924	16,263	20,093
	Grand Total	197,235	230,616	264,776	308,087	338,021
	Total in City	193,316	223,593	255,539	293,161	314,885
	Total Outside City	3,919	7,023	9,237	14,926	23,136

Welfare Association. The number in each district was figured on the basis of the percentages of the estimated 1928 population (a better index would have been the ratio to living infants, had those data been available) and the districts were ranked according to these percentages.

The Juvenile Delinquency information was furnished from a spot map of the 1927 juvenile court cases by the Court Worker of the Minneapolis Church Federation. The per cent. that the number of cases in each district formed of the school-age population, according to the 1928 School Census, was used as the basis of ranking.

For poverty, a spot map locating the major care cases of 1927 was furnished by the Minneapolis Family Welfare Association. The per cent. of the population of 1928 that these cases represented was used as the basis for ranking the districts.

Transiency as an index of the lack of family life was determined by an analysis of the location of a sampling of roomers taken from the 1927 city directory of Minneapolis and mapped in the Department of Sociology of the University of Minnesota. The percentage of the 1928 population of the districts which the sample number of roomers per district represented was used for the ranking.

For prevalence of tuberculosis, a spot map of the present reported cases of tuberculosis furnished by the Hennepin County Tuberculosis Association was used. The ranking was on the basis of the percentages of the 1928 population of the districts.

The 1927 suicides were mapped in the Department of Sociology of the University of Minnesota. The percentages of suicides in the 1928 population were computed by districts and the districts were ranked on these percentages.

The districts were ranked with regard to their undesirability for residence on account of the presence of industry by a study of the zoning for industry, non-conformity to the zoning laws, and present use, as mapped by the City Planning Commission and by an observation of the area.

The economic map published by the *Minneapolis Journal* in 1925, showing the characteristic incomes of the people of the area in four classifications as indicated on page 19, was the basis for ranking the districts on relative economic resources.

For the final ranking on the basis of the eight social criteria, the rankings of each district on the several items were added together and the totals formed the order of the final standing. The ranking of the districts on each item, and the final rank, are shown in Appendix Table II.

APPENDIX TABLE II—RANKING OF SURVEY DISTRICTS BY EIGHT SOCIAL CRITERIA

Final Rank of the Districts	*District No.*	*Population*	*Infant Mortality*		*Juvenile Delinquency*		*Family Relief*		*Transiency (Roomers)*		Frequency of *Tuberculosis*		Frequency of *Suicides*		*Industrialization Rank*	*Economic Status Rank*
			No.	*Percent*	*No.*	*Percent*	*No.*	*Percent*	*No.*	*Percent*	*No.*	*Percent*	*No.*	*Percent*		
1	IX	14,722	3	.2	4	.1	7	.5	0	.0	9	.6	3	.2	1	1
2	VII	11,302	2	.2	1	.1	8	.9	0	.0	7	.6	0	.0	4	3
3	VI	7,734	1	.1	8	.1	0	.0	0	.0	1	.1	0	.0	10	7
4	VIII	12,198	8	.8	9	.4	7	.6	0	.0	9	.8	3	.3	3	6
5	X	12,560	8	.6	15	.6	24	1.9	0	.0	14	1.1	1	.1	2	8
6	XII	5,883	8	1.5	2	.2	9	1.7	0	.0	5	.9	1	.2	7	5
7	V	29,984	13	.4	23	.5	58	1.9	6	.2	28	.9	5	.2	5	4
8	II	51,583	22	.4	21	.4	138	2.7	56	1.1	89	1.7	20	.4	9	2
9	XIII	10,924	5	.5	18	.8	42	3.9	0	.0	14	1.3	3	.3	6	10
10	XI	23,428	20	.9	24	.6	31	1.3	2	.1	37	1.6	10	.4	8	9
11	IV	31,067	25	.8	59	.9	119	3.8	13	.4	56	1.8	11	.4	12	12
12	III	36,447	28	.8	64	1.4	141	3.9	117	3.2	79	2.2	15	.4	11	11
13	I	16,944	10	.6	37	2.6	157	9.3	124	7.3	51	3.0	32	1.9	13	13

APPENDIX TABLE III—ORGANIZATION, DISBANDING AND REMOVAL OF CHURCHES BY DECADES—BY DISTRICTS

	Down-town and Acute Transition Zone					Stabilized Residential Zone					New Residential Zone						Total of Sector
	Districts				Total	Districts				Total	Districts					Total	
	I	II	III	IV	Zone	V	IX	X	XI	Zone	VI	VII	VIII	XII	XIII	Zone	
1870 and Before																	
Organized	10	..	1	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	13
Disbanded or Consolidated	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Removed from	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Removed to	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Relocation within	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number Close of Period	10	..	1	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	13
1871–1880																	
Organized	5	..	4	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	10
Disbanded or Consolidated	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Removed from	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Removed to	2	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Relocation within	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Number Close of Period	16	..	6	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	25
1881–1890																	
Organized	7	7	8	9	31	1	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	34
Disbanded or Consolidated	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Removed from	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Removed to	1	..	2	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Relocation within	4	..	1	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Number Close of Period	20	6	16	9	51	1	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	2	1	4	57
1891–1900																	
Organized	1	3	1	6	11	6	..	..	..	6	2	1	..	..	..	3	20
Disbanded or Consolidated	..	1	1	1	3	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	5
Removed from	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Removed to	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Relocation within	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Number Close of Period	18	11	16	14	59	6	..	..	1	7	2	1	..	2	1	6	72

APPENDIX TABLE III—ORGANIZATION, DISBANDING AND REMOVAL OF CHURCHES BY DECADES—BY DISTRICTS—*Continued*

	Down-town and Acute Transition Zone					Stabilized Residential Zone					New Residential Zone						*Total of Sector*
	Districts				*Total*	*Districts*				*Total*	*Districts*					*Total*	
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*Zone*	*V*	*IX*	*X*	*XI*	*Zone*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*XII*	*XIII*	*Zone*	
1901–1910																	
Organized	..	1	2	3	6	3	1	1	..	5	..	4	..	..	..	4	15
Disbanded or Consolidated	..	..	1	2	3	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Removed from	3	..	..	1	4	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Removed to	..	2	2	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Relocation within	1	3	1	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Number Close of Period	15	14	19	15	63	7	1	1	1	10	2	5	..	2	1	10	83
1911–1920																	
Organized	3	..	2	6	11	1	4	2	4	11	..	3	3	..	1	7	29
Disbanded or Consolidated	..	2	2	2	6	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	7
Removed from	6	..	2	2	10	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Removed to	..	3	3	2	8	1	..	1	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Relocation within	..	..	1	2	3	1	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Number Close of Period	12	15	20	19	66	8	5	4	7	24	1	8	3	2	2	16	106
1921–1928																	
Organized	..	1	2	1	4	2	1	2	3	8	1	..	1	1	5	8	20
Disbanded or Consolidated	..	1	1	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Removed from	1	..	1	1	3	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Removed to	..	2	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	5
Relocation within	1	..	..	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	5
Number Close of Period	11	15	20	20	66	10	7	6	10	33	2	8	4	4	7	25	124

ORGANIZATION AND MOVEMENT OF CHURCHES

The data on the history of the churches of the South Sector were compiled from the published histories of the various denominations and individual churches, supplemented by information furnished on the questionnaire by the pastors of the churches. The purpose of Appendix Table III is to show the history behind the present number and arrangement of the 124 churches of the South Sector. Summarized by decades are the number of churches organized, the number disbanded, the number of removals from and the number of removals into each district, the number of relocations within, and the number of churches existing at the close of, the decade in each district.

WHAT IS A CHURCH?

For the purpose of this survey, three standards were set as a basis for the inclusion or exclusion of religious organizations as churches. (1) The institution must consider itself a church. (2) It is generally affiliated with a recognized denomination. (This does not, however, exclude interdenominational churches.) (3) It has certain characteristics common to churches, as (a) gathering for worship, (b) a Sunday school or its equivalent, (c) regular membership, and (d) financial maintenance in the manner usual with churches.

THE CHURCHES OF THE SOUTH SECTOR

In the South Sector there are 124 churches accounted for under the specifications noted. The rescue missions have been excluded because they meet none of the requirements. The holiness missions have been excluded because they have no organization or membership and few characteristics of a church. The Salvation Army and Volunteers of America consider themselves churches and meet most of the requirements, so are included. The missions are included because they are infant churches. Luther House is included because it is the same in function as an infant church, though its particular type of ministry will continue it as such. Wells Memorial House has been excluded because its religious program is carried on as a part of St. Mark's Parish.

The list of the churches by districts with the dates of their organization is given in Appendix Table IV. The additional data of this table covering size, type of parish and the various classifications will be explained in a later paragraph.

CHURCH ADHERENTS

Each of the pastors of the 124 Protestant churches furnished the information concerning the location by school districts of: (1) The

APPENDIX TABLE IV—CHURCHES OF THE SOUTH SECTOR BY DISTRICTS

District / Churches	Date of Organization	Membership No.	Membership Growth	S.S. Enrollment No.	S.S. Enrollment Growth	No. on Staff	Type of Parish	Ranking: Value of Plant	Ranking: Home Mission Aid	Ranking: Current Expenses	Ranking: Per Capita Contributions	Ranking: Combined Institutional Criteria
I DOWN-TOWN												
Bethesda Bapt. (c)	1889	165	(C)	250	(B)	1½	VS	D		D	C	C
First Bapt.	1853	3,196	B	2,083	A	12	VS	A		A	C	A
First Sw. Bapt.	1871	834	A	400	B	2	VS	B		A	C	B
Augustana-Aug. L.	1866	1,041	E	418	E	2	VS	B		B	D	A
Luther House	1915			60	—	½	C	—		—	—	D
1st Sw. Evan. Free	1884	600	—	660	—	2	VS	A		B	C	B
Salvation Army	1885	290	—	85	—	4	C	B		—	—	B
Sw. Tab. Evan. Miss. C.	1874	1,585	—	1,500	—	3	VS	B		A	C	A
Unitarian	1881	1,070	A	122	C	4	S	B		A	B	A
Unity Soc. Apld. City	1916	156	—	49	—	3	VS	—		D	D	D
Volunteers of Am.	1896	155	A	146	A	2	C	—		—	—	B
II LORING PARK—KENWOOD												
Calvary Bapt.	1883	670	C	488	D	2½	M	A		A	B	A
Trinity Bapt.	1903	430	C	78	E	2	M	B		A	A	A
Lake of Isles Cong.	1923	100	—	100	—	1	VC	A		B	A	C
Lyndale Cong.	1884	583	E	458	E	2	M	A		A	B	A
Plymouth Cong.	1857	1,419	C	790	B	4	M	A		A	B	A
Hennepin Ave. M. E.	1875	2,400	C	1,496	(B)	11½	M	A		A	C	A
Joyce Memo. M.E.	1886	779	B	795	(C)	3	M	B		A	C	B
Wesley M.E.	1852	1,600	B	520	E	4	M	A		A	C	A
Bethlehem Pres.	1884	967	C	649	D	1	M	A		A	D	B
Grace Pres.	1894	477	B	265	D	2	C	A		A	A	A
Westminster Pres.	1857	2,395	(C)	492	B	9	M	A		A	B	A
St. Mark's P.E.	1889	1,560	C	501	D	8	M	A		A	B	A
St. Paul's P.E.	1888	729	(E)	370	(E)	5	C	B		A	A	A
Friends	1855	102	(E)	116	(E)	1	M	C		C	A	C
First S.D.A.	1882	533	—	40	—	3	S	C		B	D	B

APPENDIX TABLE IV—CHURCHES OF THE SOUTH SECTOR BY DISTRICTS—*Continued*

District / Churches	Date of Organization	Membership No.	Membership Growth	S.S. Enrollment No.	S.S. Enrollment Growth	No. on Staff	Type of Parish	Ranking: Value of Plant	Ranking: Home Mission Aid	Ranking: Current Expenses	Ranking: Per Capita Contributions	Ranking: Combined Institutional Criteria
III CENTRAL												
Park Ave. Cong.	1867	800	D	230	E	3	S	A		A	B	A
Portland Ave. Disc.	1877	383	B	299	C	2	S	B		B	B	A
Messiah—Aug. L.	1908	650	C	250	B	1	M	B		B	D	C
Zion—Aug. L.	1893	605	A	265	B	1½	M	C		B	D	C
Central N.L.C.	1919	2,117	A	716	A	4	S	A		A	D	A
Nor. Memo. N.L.C.	1922	400	—	30	—	1	M	C		C	D	B
Our Saviour N.L.C.	1869	900	E	320	C	2	M	A		B	D	B
Salem U.L.C.	1890	711	C	312	C	1½	C	A		A	C	C
First Sw. M.E.	1873	400	—	370	—	1	M	B		B	C	A
Olivet M.E.	1870	209	E	100	E	1	M	C		D	D	C
Simpson M.E.	1882	2,446	A	1,325	A	8	S	A		A	D	A
First Pres.	1835	439	E	268	D	1	M	A		B	B	A
Stewart Memo. Pres.	1882	556	B	552	B	2	C	B		B	C	B
Gethsemane P.E.	1856	950	E	320	D	4	S	A		A	B	A
St. Thomas P.E.	1915	43	(E)	21	(D)	½	M	D		D	D	D
St. Peter's A.M.E.	1886	350	—	140	—	1	S	D		C	D	B
Christian Miss. All.	1923	151	—	165	—	1	M	D		C	A	C
Ch. of New Jerusalem	1871	28	—	26	—	1	VS	C	D	D	A	D
Redeemer Univer.	1859	785	—	116	—	2	S	A		A	A	B
Tuttle Memo. Univer.	1888	185	—	80	—	1	M	—	C	C	B	B
IV EAST SIDE												
1st Nor. Dan. Bapt.	1879	240	C	165	A	1½	M	C		C	B	B
Vine Cong.	1882	200	B	244	C	1	C	(C)		C	B	B
Lebanon Aug. L.	1911	230	B	236	A	1	VC	—		—	—	(D)
St. Paul's Aug. L.	1887	1,375	C	314	B	1½	M	A		A	D	B
Zoar Eielson L.	1919	75	—	12	—	½	M	D	A	D	D	D
Trinity Mo. L.	1856	600	B	280	C	1½	M	B	D	A	A	C

APPENDIX TABLE IV—CHURCHES OF THE SOUTH SECTOR BY DISTRICTS—*Continued*

District	Churches	Date of Organization	Membership		S.S. Enrollment		No. on Staff	Type of Parish	Ranking				
			No.	Growth	No.	Growth			Value of Plant	Home Mission Aid	Current Expenses	Per Capita Contributions	Combined Institutional Criteria
IV	EAST SIDE—*Continued*												
	Bethel N.L.C.	1899	1,050	B	476	A	1	M	A		C	D	C
	St. Paul's N.L.C.	1872	315	E	250	B	1½	M	B		C	C	A
	1st Nor. Dan. M.E.	1879	340	—	175	—	1	S	A		B	B	B
	Walker M.E.	1886	350	B	150	B	1	M	C		C	D	B
	Oliver Pres.	1884	800	C	700	C	2	M	A		A	C	A
	Welsh Pres.	1881	218	—	90	—	1	M	(C)		C	B	B
	Apostolic Faith	1916	35	—	—	—	1	VC	C		D	A	C
	Assembly of God	1918	174	A	196	B	2	S	C		C	A	B
	Bloom'ton Temple Ev. Fr.	1909	187	—	248	—	1	C	B		B	A	C
	Salem Nor. Evan. Fr.	1921	30	—	30	—	1	VC	D		D	A	D
	First Nazarene	1920	167	—	114	—	1	C	C		B	A	A
	Gospel Tab. Ply. Bre.	1915	55	—	85	—	—	VC	—		—	—	C
	Swedish Free Bapt.	1893	47	—	13	—	1	S	D		D	D	C
	Elim-Sw. Ev. Miss. Cov.	1904	284	—	350	—	1	S	—		B	B	B
V	LAKEWOOD-POWDERHORN												
	Temple Bapt.	1910	770	C	660	C	2	M	B		B	D	B
	Fifth Ave. Cong.	1886	480	(C)	304	E	1½	C	B		B	C	B
	38th St. Cong.	1897	334	A	298	(B)	1	C	C		C	C	C
	Mt. Olive Mo. L.	1909	250	C	225	C	1	M	C	—	C	B	B
	Pilgrim Wis. L.	1923	173	—	112	—	1	S	D	C	C	C	B
	Park Ave. M.E.	1893	724	A	545	B	2½	M	B	—	A	C	B
	Aldrich Ave. Pres.	1913	297	E	250	E	1	M	B	—	C	C	C
	All Saints P.E.	1872	225	E	94	D	1	M	C		C	B	B
	Bishop Whipple P.E.	1898	158	C	76	E	1	C	D	C	D	D	C
	Oakland Ave. Evan.	1921	82	C	132	B	1	M	C	B	C	A	B

APPENDIX TABLE IV—CHURCHES OF THE SOUTH SECTOR BY DISTRICTS—*Continued*

District	Churches	Date of Organization	Membership		S.S. Enrollment		No. on Staff	Type of Parish	Ranking				
			No.	Growth	No.	Growth			Value of Plant	Home Mission Aid	Current Expenses	Per Capita Contributions	Combined Institutional Criteria
VI	CEDAR LAKE—ST. LOUIS PARK												
	St. Louis Pk. Cong.	1883	99	(D)	125	(E)	½	VC	D	—	D	C	D
	St. Louis Pk. N.L.C.	1924	142	—	230	—	1	VC	C	C	D	C	C
VII	LINDEN HILLS												
	Edina Cong.	1902	95	A	140	A	1	VC	D	B	D	C	D
	Linden Hills Cong.	1902	555	A	374	(D)	2	M	C		B	C	(B)
	Morningside Cong.	1895	200	—	230	—	1	C	C		C	A	A
	Tabor Aug. L.	1916	90	E	80	A	½	C	D	B	D	D	D
	Lake Harriet N.L.C.	1915	75	—	147	—	1	C	C	D	C	A	C
	Brookside M.E.	1910	56	B	149	B	1	M	D	A	D	A	B
	Lake Harriet M.E.	1907	445	(B)	374	(B)	2	VC	C		B	B	A
	St. John's P.E.	1916	280	B	169	C	1	C	B		B	A	C
VIII	SOUTH LAKE HARRIET												
	France Ave. Bapt.	1927	—		60		—	VC	D		—	—	D
	Lake Harriet Bapt.	1916	208	A	338	A	2	C	A	B	B	A	B
	Lake Harriet Disc.	1916	160	A	356	A	1	C	C	A	C	A	C
	St. Andrew's Ia. L.	1916	203	—	110	—	1	C	D	C	D	D	D
IX	LYNNHURST												
	Lynnhurst Cong.	1910	608	A	373	(C)	2	C	(B)		A	B	A
	Mt. Olivet Aug. L.	1920	80	A	80	B	½	C	D	B	D	B	D
	Bethlehem N.L.C.	1894	1,100	C	320	D	1	M	A		A	B	B
	Oliver Ave. M. U.L.C.	1928			36		½	VC			—	—	D
	St. John's U.L.C.	1883	500	D	250	D	1	M	B		B	B	C
	Knox Pres.	1913	430	A	525	A	1	C	B		A	A	A
	St. Luke's P.E.	1915	400	A	372	A	2	C	A		B	A	B

APPENDIX TABLE IV—CHURCHES OF THE SOUTH SECTOR BY DISTRICTS—*Continued*

District	Churches	Date of Organization	Membership		S.S. Enrollment		No. on Staff	Type of Parish	Ranking				
			No.	Growth	No.	Growth			Value of Plant	Home Mission Aid	Current Expenses	Per Capita Contributions	Combined Institutional Criteria
X	SOUTH CENTRAL												
	Judson Memo. Bapt.	1909	839	A	544	B	2	C	A		A	B	A
	48th St. Disc.	1921	101	A	119	B	½	C	D		D	D	D
	Rosedale Luth. Free	1911	275	A	165	B	1	C	C		D	D	D
	Portland Ave. Mo. L.	1927	50		197		1	VC	C	D	C	A	C
	Hobart Memo. M.E.	1904	268	B	424	B	1	VC	D		C	B	B
	Faith Evan. Synod	1920	63	—	108	—	1	M	D	B	D	A	A
XI	RICE LAKE												
	Ebenezer Miss. Bapt.	1927			172		½	VC	(D)	A	—	—	D
	Open Door Cong.	1884	196	A	187	E	1	VC	(C)		C	C	C
	Minnehaha Disc.	1912	325	(A)	139	B	1	C	C	A	C	D	C
	Calvary Aug. L.	1923	497	—	409	—	1½	C	C		B	C	B
	St. Luke's Luth. Free	1891	759	B	534	B	1	M	B		B	C	B
	Nazareth N.L.C.	1911	350	B	229	C	1½	C	C	B	C	C	C
	Our Redeemer's N.L.C.	1915	500	—	525	—	1½	C	B		C	D	B
	Epiphany U.L.C.	1925	100		202		1	VC	C	D	C	A	C
	Nokomis Pres.	1916	161	B	260	B	1	VC	(D)	D	C	B	B
	Grace Truth Ply. Breth.	1883	60	—	70	—	—	VC	C		C	A	C
XII	RICHFIELD												
	Richfield Bapt.	1858	52	E	80	B	1	M	D	C	D	B	C
	Mayflower Cong.	1925	80		140		1	C	C	C	D	A	C
	Richfield U.L.C.	1915	266	A	279	A	1	M	C		B	A	B
	Richfield M.E.	1868	260	A	210	A	1	M	D	A	C	D	C

District	Churches	Date of Organization	Membership		S.S. Enrollment		No. on Staff	Type of Parish	Ranking				
			No.	Growth	No.	Growth			Value of Plant	Home Mission Aid	Current Expenses	Per Capita Contributions	Combined Institutional Criteria
XIII	MINNEHAHA—NOKOMIS												
	Trinity Aug. L.	1923	40	B	150	C	1	VC	D	(B)	D	D	C
	Morris Park Mo. L.	1926	40		110		1	VC	D	D	D	D	D
	Lake Nokomis N.L.C.	1914	975	A	720	A	1	C	B		B	D	B
	Hope U.L.C.	1926	54		122		½	VC	(D)		D	D	D
	Resurrection U.L.C.	1923	115	—	275	—	1	VC	D	C	D	C	C
	Minnehaha M.E.	1876	432	A	507	A	1½	VC	B	A	B	D	C
	St. James' P.E.	1928	70		94		½	VC	D		D	A	C

NOTES:
Parentheses around growth indices show irregular tendency.
Parentheses around ranking indices show estimates.
Blank space indicates the particular point does not apply.
Dash indicates information lacking.
In ranking A is highest. Where quartile range is used D is lowest, otherwise E is lowest.
Types of Parishes: VS = Very Scattered, M = Medium, C = Compact, VC = Very Compact.
For Home Mission Aid, A indicates the least and D the most received.

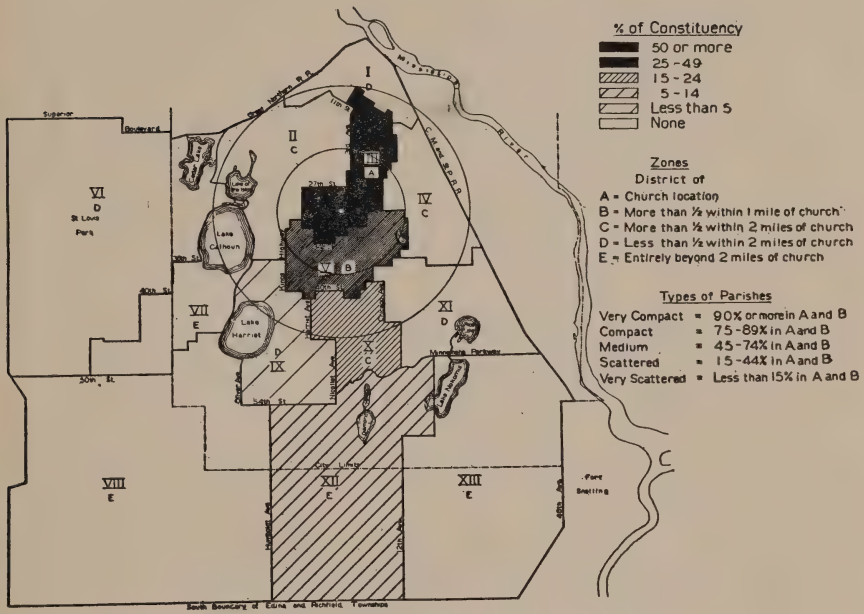
APPENDIX TABLE V—ACCOUNTED-FOR PROTESTANT ADHERENTS, NON-PROTESTANTS AND UNCHURCHED BY DISTRICTS

	Accounted-for Protestant Adherents						Non-Protestant Adherents				Unchurched
District	*Church-Members*	*S. S. Pupils*	*Others*	**Total Reported*	*Est. Under Five Years*	*Total*	*Roman Catholic*	*Christian Science*	*Jewish*	*Total*	*Remainder of Popul.*
I.....	1,379	940	322	2,465	141	2,606	1,083	37	300	1,420	12,918
II.....	7,739	4,361	749	11,563	811	12,374	3,784	621	1,600	6,005	33,204
III.....	5,194	3,567	451	8,327	675	9,002	2,234	157	700	3,091	24,354
IV.....	5,284	3,397	467	8,249	1,116	9,365	1,433	28	500	1,961	19,741
V.....	6,044	3,507	361	8,589	861	9,450	1,895	228	300	2,423	18,111
VI.....	764	676	225	1,501	164	1,665	1,400	155	100	1,655	4,414
VII.....	1,792	1,257	639	3,365	287	3,652	800	136	0	936	6,714
VIII.....	2,077	1,686	494	3,887	433	4,320	770	78	0	848	7,030
IX.....	3,482	2,314	545	5,739	735	6,474	872	226	0	1,098	7,150
X.....	2,465	1,776	460	4,188	544	4,732	1,710	153	0	1,863	5,965
XI.....	4,696	3,713	601	8,013	957	8,970	930	213	0	1,143	13,315
XII.....	1,172	1,024	347	2,302	268	2,570	1,145	78	0	1,223	2,090
XIII.....	1,716	1,976	342	3,670	526	4,196	1,270	69	0	1,339	5,389
Total.....	43,804	30,194	6,013	71,858	7,518	79,376	19,326	2,179	3,500	25,005	160,395

*The total reported for each district is the total of church-members, Sunday-school pupils and others less the duplicates.

number of individual members of the church resident in the school districts; (2) The number of pupils enrolled in the Sunday school from each district; (3) The number of duplicates, the church-members who were also in the Sunday school; (4) The number of other constituents in each district, such as regular attendants and contributors or members of subsidiary organizations of the church.

From the standpoint of the survey, every individual was considered as churched who was accounted for and located in this way by the church itself.


% of Constituency
50 or more
25-49
15-24
5-14
Less than 5
None
Zones
District of
A = Church location
B = More than ½ within 1 mile of church
C = More than ½ within 2 miles of church
D = Less than ½ within 2 miles of church
E = Entirely beyond 2 miles of church
Types of Parishes
Very Compact = 90% or more in A and B
Compact = 75-89% in A and B
Medium = 45-74% in A and B
Scattered = 15-44% in A and B
Very Scattered = Less than 15% in A and B
Lake Calhoun
Lake Harriet
Minnehaha Parkway
Fort Snelling
South Boundary of Edina and Richfield Townships

Parish Geography: Per Cent Distribution of Constituency

CHART XXXVI

An adjustment for children under five was necessary in the accounting for Protestant adherents, because the Protestant churches do not count their children under five. The per cent. of the population under five in the United States is ten. There are only slight variations in this per cent. from city to city, but wide variations usually in different areas within the same city. To get the variations in child population in the various districts of the South Sector, the number of children between five and sixteen, which was known from the school census, was com-

APPENDIX TABLE VI—CLASSIFICATION OF DISTRICTS BY RECEIVING-GIVING WITH SUMMARY OF TYPES OF PARISHES

Classification of District	*District No.*	*Non-Residents Drawn Into District for Churching (1)*	*Residents Going Out of District for Churching (2)*	*Ratio Columns (1) to (2) Percent*	*No. of Churches*	Types of Parishes				
						Very Scattered	*Scattered*	*Medium*	*Compact*	*Very Compact*
Receiving	I	6,501	1,325	83–17	11	7*	1	0	3	0
Receiving-Giving	III	9,512	4,675	67–33	20	1	7	*10*	2	0
	II	7,627	4,108	65–35	15	0	1	*11*	2	1
	VII	1,570	967	62–38	8	0	0	2	*4*	2
Neutral	IV	3,733	3,954	48–52	20	0	4	*9*	3	4
Giving-Receiving	IX	2,078	3,411	38–62	7	0	0	2	*4*	1
	X	1,566	2,868	35–65	6	0	0	1	*3*	2
	XIII	387	732	35–65	7	0	0	0	1	*6*
	XII	680	1,255	35–65	4	0	0	*3*	1	0
	V	2,513	6,296	29–71	10	0	1	*6*	3	0
	XI	1,503	4,383	26–74	10	0	0	1	4	*5*
Giving	VIII	142	2,944	5–95	4	0	0	0	*3*	1
	VI	0	894	0–100	2	0	0	0	0	*2*

*Characteristic Type of Parish in Italics

pared with the total population for each district. The variations in the per cent. of population for the children from five to sixteen in the various districts was applied to the base 10 per cent. for children under five. The number of the reported Protestant adherents was increased by the adjusted per cent. to obtain the accounted-for Protestant adherents.

The adherents of the non-Protestant churches were accounted for in the following manner. For the Roman Catholic adherents the number of souls in each of the nine English-speaking Roman Catholic churches was obtained from the pastors through the Catholic Central Bureau. Maps of the parishes of these churches were made and the Roman Catholic people redistributed from parishes to survey districts.

The adherents of the Christian Science churches were estimated on the basis of the total Christian Science membership for the seven churches in Minneapolis, according to the 1926 U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, which was 2,756. A reasonable proportion was taken for the six churches that are located in the South Sector. Two of the churches furnished information concerning the general location of their membership: this, with the location of the churches, was used as the basis for the distribution by districts. The estimates were adjusted for children under five in the same manner that the adjustment was made for Protestant adherents.

The information concerning the number and distribution of the adherents of the four Jewish synagogues was furnished by the Rabbi of the liberal synagogue and the principal of the Jewish school.

Appendix Table V gives the number and distribution of the various classifications of churched people.

TYPES OF PARISHES

The type of parish of each church was calculated on the basis of the per cent. of its constituency living in the districts, chiefly within one mile of the church. The district in which the church was located was termed the A district (when the church was on the line both districts were taken as A) and each district the major part of which was within a circle of a mile radius with the church as the center, was a B district. When 90 per cent. of the constituency of a church was in A and B districts, the church was classified as one with a very compact parish; when 75 to 89 per cent., a compact parish; when 45 to 74 per cent., a medium parish; when 15 to 44 per cent., a scattered parish; and when less than 15 per cent., a very scattered parish. The method of classification is graphically shown in Chart XXXVI. The type of parish of each of the 124 churches is indicated in Appendix Table IV, and the summary of types of parishes by districts is in Appendix Table VI.

APPENDIX TABLE VII—PROTESTANT ADHERENTS BY DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE AND DISTRICT OF CHURCHING

*District of Residence**	Protestants Attending Church in District†													*Total Adherents Churched Per District*
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	*X*	*XI*	*XII*	*XIII*	
I	*1,140*	858	1,649	1,316	626	156	122	130	259	302	751	161	171	7,641
II	464	*7,455*	1,676	170	1,576	374	430	637	1,417	371	208	191	113	15,082
III	562	2,350	*3,652*	1,218	2,356	115	193	278	639	714	805	172	110	13,164
IV	220	240	546	*4,295*	549	7	37	42	37	167	1,673	67	148	8,028
V	24	303	487	319	*2,293*	28	43	68	196	453	434	94	64	4,806
VI	0	0	0	0	0	*607*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	607
VII	5	89	16	0	19	191	*2,398*	1,060	78	8	2	83	19	3,968
VIII	2	23	2	4	6	1	88	*943*	9	0	0	1	6	1,085
IX	38	177	172	165	430	11	27	219	*2,328*	536	96	182	25	4,406
X	7	39	72	20	543	6	26	41	625	*1,320*	35	139	13	2,886
XI	3	29	55	742	191	5	1	9	10	253	*3,630*	157	48	5,133
XII	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	460	141	64	0	*1,047*	15	1,727
XIII	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	379	8	*2,938*	3,325
Total Adherents Residing in Each District	2,465	11,563	8,327	8,249	8,589	1,501	3,365	3,887	5,739	4,188	8,013	2,302	3,670	*71,858*

*The vertical columns show in what districts the people living in each go to church.
†The horizontal columns show in what districts the people live who go to church in those districts.

CLASSIFICATION OF DISTRICTS

The method of classifying districts was on the basis of the ratio of the Protestant adherents drawn into the district for churching to those going outside the district for churching. Receiving districts are those that receive 75 or more adherents per hundred and give 25 or fewer. Receiving-Giving districts receive 55 to 75 and give 45 to 25. Neutral districts receive and give between 55 and 45. Giving-Receiving receive 45 to 25 and give 55 to 75. Giving districts are those that receive 25 or fewer and give 75 or more. The classification of the districts is shown in Appendix Table VI.

CHURCHGOING MOVEMENT

The information from the churches gave the district of residence of the adherents of each church. The data from the different churches were compiled to obtain the total number of church adherents resident in each district. A second compilation was made to obtain the number of people going to church in each district from every other district. These were combined in Appendix Table VII. The perpendicular columns indicate where the adherents living in the district numbered at the top go to church, and the horizontal lines indicate from which districts the adherents come who go to the churches in the district numbered to the left.

AVAILABLE POPULATION

The basis of computing available population is the distribution of Protestant adherents by the districts of churching. The unchurched population is distributed in the same proportion.

The resident population less the non-Protestants, less the people that go out of the district to church, less the same proportion of the unchurched, plus the people who come into the district for churching, plus the same proportion of the unchurched, gives the available population. This, divided by the number of churches, gives the available population per church in each district. A comparison of the total resident population per church and the available population per church by districts is given in Appendix Table VIII.

The children under five that have been added to the Protestant adherents are not included in the available population, because there is no basis for distributing them to the probable district of churching. It would make very little difference by districts. Included in the total, the available population per church would become 1,933.

APPENDIX TABLE VIII—COMPARISON OF 1928 RESIDENT POPULATION PER CHURCH AND AVAILABLE POPULATION PER CHURCH

District	*Number of Churches*	*Population of District per Church*	*Total Available Population per Church*
I	11	1,540	2,527
II	15	3,439	3,556
III	20	1,822	2,234
IV	20	1,553	1,323
V	10	2,998	1,515
VI	2	3,867	1,187
VII	8	1,834	1,525
VIII	4	3,049	775
IX	7	2,103	1,686
X	6	2,093	1,363
XI	10	2,343	1,434
XII	4	1,471	1,091
XIII	7	1,561	1,209
Total	124	2,135	1,873

PROTESTANT ADHERENTS BY DENOMINATIONS

The Protestant adherents residing in each district were compiled by the denominations of their affiliations according to the churches furnishing the information. This is given in Appendix Table IX.

The miscellaneous churches were divided into four groups. (a) The small regular Protestant denominations of American antecedents including St. Peter's A. M. E.; Oakland Avenue Evangelical; Faith Evangelical Synod; and Friends. (b) Small regular Protestant denominations of recent foreign antecedents: The Bloomington Temple and the Salem, Norwegian Evangelical Free; First Swedish Evangelical Free; the Elim and the Swedish Tabernacle, Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant; and Swedish Free Baptist. (c) Non-evangelical: Unitarian; the Church of the Redeemer and the Tuttle Memorial, Universalist; and Unity Society of Applied Christianity. And (d) erratic: Apostolic Faith; Assembly of God; Christian and Missionary Alliance; Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian); Nazarene; the Gospel Tabernacle and the Grace and Truth Hall, Plymouth Brethren; Salvation Army; First Seventh Day Adventist; and Volunteers of America.

NORMS OF ADEQUACY

SIZE

The churches were arrayed in order of the size of their church-membership; and the median and first and third quartiles were determined as indicated in Table IV, page 84. The same process was re-

APPENDIX TABLE IX—DISTRIBUTION OF ADHERENTS OF VARIOUS DENOMINATIONS BY DISTRICTS OF RESIDENCE

Denominations	*Total*	Survey Districts *I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	*X*	*XI*	*XII*	*XIII*
Baptist	6,829	167	1,138	843	622	1,071	138	167	580	613	615	537	195	143
Congregational	9,125	95	1,667	767	448	1,445	264	1,505	581	1,288	300	361	358	46
Disciple	1,650	17	82	144	44	93	1	52	403	33	116	573	64	28
Lutheran	20,891	636	1,254	2,230	3,624	2,112	483	376	755	793	1,454	4,060	923	2,191
Augustana	5,579	138	213	735	1,518	690	16	135	93	199	341	1,102	197	202
Eielson	15	1	0	2	8	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Free	1,515	0	3	18	368	80	0	0	0	119	175	711	29	12
Iowa	247	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	221	0	0	0	0	0
Mo	1,842	72	159	255	325	279	2	24	19	47	274	147	68	171
N.L.C	8,582	256	609	969	1,341	820	454	171	134	250	323	1,906	84	1,265
U.L.C	2,786	169	224	224	52	126	0	10	283	137	300	180	541	540
Wis	325	0	46	27	12	116	11	10	5	41	40	13	4	0
Methodist Epis	12,367	253	2,716	1,405	820	1,578	329	698	816	965	624	814	486	863
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	6,975	125	1,674	946	725	1,018	98	135	227	738	353	754	115	67
Protestant Epis	6,096	121	2,109	625	142	615	107	344	427	1,035	225	111	71	164
Miscellaneous	7,925	1,051	923	1,367	1,824	657	81	88	98	274	501	803	90	168
Regular Amer	945	172	82	80	76	135	6	17	3	37	268	48	2	19
Recent Foreign	3,319	267	191	611	997	266	27	19	29	62	165	526	64	95
Non-Evangel	1,528	133	543	221	66	176	38	44	55	137	31	47	20	17
Erratic	2,133	479	107	455	685	80	10	8	11	38	37	182	4	37
Total	71,858	2,465	11,563	8,327	8,249	8,589	1,501	3,365	3,887	5,739	4,188	8,013	2,302	3,670

peated for Sunday-school enrollment. The churches were compared in the actual membership and Sunday-school enrollment.

FINANCE

The median and quartiles of the current expenses of the churches for the last church year were determined. Each church was classified as A, B, C or D on the basis of the quartile in which its amount of current expenditures per year fell, A representing the highest quartile. The range of each quartile is given in Table IV.

To determine the per capita rate of giving the total amount of current expenses for each church was divided by the number of church-members. The median and quartiles of the rates thus determined were found and each church ranked as A, B, C or D according to the quartile in which its rate fell, with A standing for the highest. The range of the quartiles is given in Table IV.

STAFF

The comparison of the churches on the number of paid workers on the staff was made directly. The median and modal number of members of the staff are both one; and the average staff is one and one-half plus.

PLANT

The median and quartiles of the total value of church buildings, equipment and property were determined and the churches classed as A, B, C or D in accordance with the quartile in which each one fell, A standing for the highest. The range of the quarters is in Table IV.

GROWTH

Where denominational yearbooks were available, the number of church-members, the number in the Sunday-school enrollment, the amount of current expenses were transcribed for 1912, 1917, 1922 and 1927. In the other cases, where it was possible, the corresponding information was obtained directly from the pastors of the churches. The per cent. rate of growth over the fifteen-year period was calculated and the churches were classified as indicated in Table VI, page 86. A parenthesis around the class letter indicates an eccentric tendency of an increase followed by a loss. The relative amount of current expenses for three years was used only for reference.

COMBINED INSTITUTIONAL CRITERIA

The questionnaires carried a classified list of items of organizations, program and activity. The pastor of each church checked the items that were a part of the work of his church. The quartile range of the num-

APPENDIX TABLE X—U. S. CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES 1926—MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Denomination	No. of Organizations	Membership					Edifices			Total Expenditures in Dollars	No. in S.S.	
		Male*	Female*	Total	Under 13*	13 and Over*	No.	Value in Dollars	Debt in Dollars		Officers and Teachers	Scholars
Advent Chr. Ch.	1	64	74	138	2	136	1	40,000	.....	4,455	16	200
Seventh Day Adventists	3	212	402	614	14	600	3	55,000	.....	41,974	63	697
American Rescue Workers	2	9	19	28	.....	.....	...	.....	.....	406	....	.....
Assembly of God	1	80	106	186	.....	186	1	15,000	5,500	6,500	10	80
Baha'is	1	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	...	.....	.....	.....	....	....
Northern Bap. Con.	17	3,560	6,318	9,878	441	9,457	18	1,893,150	402,800	397,517	964	7,460
Negro Baptists	3	230	393	623	62	561	3	26,600	.....	7,085	26	270
Indep. Bap. of Am.	1	15	26	41	.....	.....	1	7,000	.....	614	3	10
Ch. of the Breth.	1	48	75	123	10	113	1	15,000	.....	750	11	100
Plymouth Breth. I	1	30	46	76	.....	76	...	.....	.....	2,673	7	70
Plymouth Breth. II	2	37	63	100	1	99	2	14,000	5,220	4,219	16	165
Plymouth Breth. IV	1	9	16	25	.....	25	...	.....	.....	387	....	....
Plymouth Breth. V	1	13	12	25	1	24	...	.....	.....	342	2	20
Chr. Sc. Parent Ch	1	1	4	5	.....	5	...	.....	.....	550	2	7
Ch. of Christ Sc.	7	734	2,022	2,756	.....	2,756	6	1,012,878	97,000	132,112	464	2,150
Ch. of God in Christ	1	13	24	37	14	23	1	10,000	1,800	1,200	4	30
Ch. of the Nazarene	1	66	106	172	6	166	1	25,000	10,000	8,472	22	212
Ch's of Christ	1	30	20	50	.....	.....	...	.....	.....	225	4	40
Gen. Con. New Jerusalem	1	12	20	32	.....	32	1	20,000	.....	2,030	6	25
Congregational	20	3,140	4,653	7,793	112	5,754	21	1,157,000	146,700	254,307	649	5,722
Disciples	7	491	628	1,119	79	1,040	5	118,500	15,500	26,163	119	1,038
Greek Orthodox Ch.	1	120	80	200	40	160	1	56,000	16,000	7,825	2	37
Russian Orthodox	1	930	630	1,560	510	1,050	1	100,000	.....	11,064	....	....
Evangelical Ch.	2	133	221	354	41	313	2	33,000	8,000	8,253	43	290
Evan. Synod of N. A.	3	203	287	490	.....	490	3	45,000	7,700	12,682	20	170
Apostolic Faith Mission	2	51	75	126	23	103	1	20,500	.....	1,683	10	55
Metropolitan Ch. Ass'n	1	9	10	19	9	10	...	.....	.....	2,239	1	10
Society of Friends	1	112	141	253	21	232	1	20,000	.....	4,418	21	182
Independent Churches	1	28	49	77	.....	77	1	10,000	.....	2,043	19	171
Jewish Congregations	10	.....	.....	22,000	.....	.....	4	328,000	95,000	79,200	12	325
Ch. of Jesus Christ L. D. Saints	2	120	163	283	45	238	1	14,519	.....	769	8	75
Reorg. Ch. Jesus Christ L. D. Saints	1	122	139	261	31	230	1	9,000	6,000	590	18	70
Liberal Catholic Ch.	1	18	23	41	4	37	...	.....	.....	465	3	15
United Lutheran Ch. in Am.	10	3,233	3,800	7,033	2,477	4,556	10	579,000	222,800	161,272	262	2,868
Lutheran Augustana Synod	18	4,544	5,662	10,206	2,237	7,969	18	529,984	73,312	166,629	489	4,195
Luth. Syn. of Mo., Ohio, etc.	7	1,050	1,394	3,394	815	1,619	7	329,000	96,000	83,351	144	1,339
Luth. J. Syn. of Wis., etc.	2	655	997	1,652	322	1,330	2	58,000	.....	20,531	39	383
Slovak Luth. Syn. U. S. A.	1	293	245	538	264	274	2	42,500	.....	5,290	....	....
Norw. Luth. Syn. of Am.	1	276	319	595	108	487	1	34,000	.....	8,158	26	200
Norw. Luth. Ch. of Amer.	19	4,504	5,053	11,857	2,991	6,916	21	1,366,091	356,500	270,571	518	6,096
Luth. Joint Syn. of Ohio, etc.	1	51	74	125	40	85	1	12,000	8,000	900	5	87

APPENDIX TABLE X—U. S. CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES 1926—MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—*Continued*

Denomination	No. of Organizations	Membership					Edifices			Total Expenditures in Dollars	No. in S.S.	
		Male*	Female*	Total	Under 13*	13 and Over*	No.	Value in Dollars	Debt in Dollars		Officers and Teachers	Scholars
Luth. Eielson Synod	1	42	59	101	35	66	1	8,000	.....	777	3	20
Luth. Synod of Iowa, etc.	4	936	1,159	2,095	472	1,623	4	130,000	18,700	23,481	87	779
Danish Luth. Ch.	1	172	183	355	75	280	1	20,000	.....	3,400	7	85
Finnish Luth. Ch. of Am.	1	71	98	169	54	115	...	.....	.....	3,195	16	50
Lutheran Free Ch.	9	1,955	2,201	4,156	1,127	3,029	9	325,500	40,700	69,159	198	2,343
United Danish Luth.	1	59	92	151	20	131	1	15,000	.....	2,423	....	.....
Finn. Luth. Nat'l Ch.	1	6	15	21	4	17	...	.....	.....	177	1	5
Finn Apostolic Luth.	1	139	192	331	112	219	1	6,000	1,000	.....	8	58
Lutheran Brethern	1	52	85	137	35	102	1	15,000	.....	4,500	11	53
Methodist Epis.	24	5,559	7,853	13,645	1,127	9,993	23	2,085,500	278,376	352,588	908	11,568
Free Methodist Ch.	1	10	17	27	.....	27	1	8,000	2,100	871	5	55
Afri. Methodist Epis.	4	211	306	517	55	462	2	45,000	10,600	17,512	36	360
Pentecostal Assemblies	1	20	25	45	10	35	...	.....	.....	1,000	7	25
Polish Nat'l Cath. Ch.	1	151	146	297	92	205	1	12,500	.....	5,057	.....	.....
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	20	3,268	5,196	8,464	351	7,659	22	1,386,830	110,400	327,501	691	7,227
Prot. Episcopal	17	3,249	4,370	7,919	2,349	5,246	16	935,885	97,500	196,628	298	2,769
Roman Catholic	29	23,841	24,434	58,389	15,504	36,890	24	3,936,060	962,788	1,002,239	91	2,338
Salvation Army	7	256	342	598	166	432	3	38,231	10,500	29,192	44	352
Swed. Evan. Mission Cov.	6	1,416	1,209	2,625	.....	2,625	6	247,822	500	72,980	222	3,501
Swed. Evan. Free Ch.	3	346	544	890	.....	890	3	130,000	16,500	29,821	86	1,035
Nor. Dan. Evan. Free	2	88	138	226	.....	226	2	85,000	10,000	7,850	20	163
Nat'l Spiritualists	3	134	206	340	32	308	2	37,000	4,800	8,011	14	115
Am. Theosophical Soc.	2	64	95	159	.....	159	1	17,500	8,400	4,508	....	....
Unitarian	1	430	390	820	.....	820	1	250,000	.....	20,200	8	120
United Brethren	1	53	94	147	3	144	1	40,000	7,000	3,000	16	178
Universalist Church	2	329	569	898	8	890	2	230,000	.....	44,679	34	202
Volunteers of Am.	1	42	73	115	.....	115	1	42,000	6,000	43,966	12	193
Total for Mnineapolis	304	68,145	84,470	188,538	32,351	119,917	272	18,042,550	3,159,696	4,014,629	6,851	68,458

*The factors do not add to the total because of those not reported as male and female and under and over 13.

ber of items which the churches as a whole had was determined under fourteen headings, and each church was classified under each heading according to the quartile in which it fell. The fourteen headings were: (1) Sunday-morning service—ratio of attendance to church-membership; (2) Sunday-evening service—ratio of attendance to church-membership; (3) Mid-week service—ratio of attendance to church-membership; (4) Sunday school—ratio of attendance to Sunday-school enrollment; (5) Religious education organization—nine possible items; (6) Subsidiary organizations—thirteen possible organizations; (7) Cultural method—eight possible activities; (8) Social and financial cultivation—seven possible items of program; (9) Community services—seventeen possible activities; (10) Total annual current expenses—(as explained); (11) Per capita annual giving—(as explained); (12) Number on staff—distribution in four classes; (13) Training of chief pastor— distribution in four classes; (14) Salary of chief pastor—quartile range.

The final classification of the churches was determined by adding the scores for each church under each heading and dividing by the number of headings under which that church was scored, that is, the number of headings under which the church had some items. This did not discredit the churches for the things they did not have but ranked them on the extent of the work which they did have. This final average score was the basis of the final classification according to the range explained on page 85 and given in Table V.

The various classifications of the churches on the items as explained are given in Appendix Table IV.

THE CHURCHING OF THE CITY

As source information of the churching of the whole of Minneapolis, a transcript of the data for the city from the 1926 U. S. Census of Religious Bodies is furnished in Appendix Table X.

METHODS OF CONDUCTING THE SURVEY

The information on the churches was secured by means of a three-page questionnaire covering all of the points enumerated and arranged to be filled in chiefly by check marks with the addition of certain specific statistical information. The questionnaires were sent to the pastors and followed up until 99 per cent. returns were obtained. In addition to the questionnaire, each pastor was sent a map with the school districts outlined on it. He was asked to locate the number of (1) church-members, (2) Sunday-school pupils, (3) duplicates, and (4)

adherents (as explained in the paragraph on "Church Adherents"), by the school district of their residence. These data, however, in most cases were procured from the records of the churches by the field assistants.

The information was considered locally by the Comity Committee of the Minneapolis Church Federation in whose name the survey was initiated and carried forward. The plans for carrying on the survey were approved by this committee through its sub-committee on the survey. The comity problems were accepted by the Comity Committee and considered by them in the Preliminary Findings Conference, December 28th, 1928; and were locally studied by the five special committees that rendered reports, together with the reports of the directors of the survey, for further consideration at the Final Findings Conference, March 7, 1929.

THE COMITY SURVEY

The outline of the processes necessary for a satisfactory comity survey is as follows:

BACKGROUND OF THE SURVEY

I Organization

1. Indicate the representative character and the responsibility of the Comity Committee.
2. Outline the principles upon which comity decisions are to be made.
3. Make a preliminary enumeration of the comity problems.

II Preliminary Considerations

1. Define the area to be studied.
2. Determine the districts and sub-districts.
3. Locate the boundaries of the zones of development.
4. Classify and define the districts on the basis of the available social criteria.

DATA OF THE SURVEY

I Churches

*1. Study the history of the churching, determining when the churches were organized, when and what churches have been disbanded, when churches have been moved and from where to where.
2. Determine the religious organizations to be considered as churches.
3. Distribute the present churches by districts.
4. Distribute the present churches by denominations.

II Population

1. Distribute the population according to last U. S. Census by districts.
2. Determine the present population by districts.
3. Compute the anticipated population by districts for five and fifteen years in the future.

III Church Adherents

1. Locate by districts the total adherents of each Protestant church (members, S.S., duplicates, others).
2. Find the number and locate by districts the adherents of non-Protestant churches.
3. Locate the total Protestant adherents by districts of residence.
4. Determine the denominational affiliation of the Protestant adherents residing in each district.
5. Distribute the total Protestant adherents by districts of churching.
6. Compute the total churched, Protestant and non-Protestant, by districts.

IV Classification of Parishes and Districts

1. Classify the parish of each church on the basis of the distance people are drawn to it.
2. Classify the districts on the basis of giving and receiving of people for churching.
3. Determine the characteristic type of parish of each type of district.

V Population vs. Church Adherents

1. Calculate the total resident population per church by districts and for city.
2. Compute the available population for each district.
3. Calculate the available population per church by districts and for city.
4. Compute the per cent. of population churched by districts and for city.

VI Adequacy of Churching

1. Determine the relative classification of the churches on the basis of:
   (a) The Size of:
      i. Church-membership, and
      ii. Sunday-school enrollment.
   (b) Finance as indicated by

i. Total annual current expenses, and
ii. Per Capita giving.
(c) The number on paid staff.
(d) The value of plant and property.
(e) Growth over a period of years in
i. Church-membership,
ii. Sunday-school enrollment, and
iii. Annual Current Expenses.
(f) Combined Institutional Criteria.

2. Determine the adequacy of the churches by districts and zones.
3. Determine the adequacy of the churches by denominations.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE SURVEY

I Classify the comity problems on the basis of types of problems and zones of development, as the problems of:
1. Organization of new churches in the newer residential zone.
2. Distribution of churches in the stabilized residential zone.
3. Adaptation of churches in the down-town and acute transition zone.

II Outline the Problems of Adequacy:
1. As they are basic to all of the problems.
2. As they are specific cases where adequacy is the problem in itself.

III Develop the solution of the problems:
1. On the basis of the evidence presented by the data.
2. In the light of the accepted principles.
3. On the basis of further principles found to be necessary.

A comity survey is in no sense a simple thing, nor is there any desire to make it appear so. Neither is there an intention to indicate any short-cut process by which such a study of a city could be easily or quickly made. Such a process would merely fail to make a valid analysis of the very complex problems of comity. On the other hand, there is no reason why any well-organized city church federation could not make such a study with its own staff if the study were made the major project for a year and gradually built up point by point.

If it is necessary to abbreviate the study, the item starred (the study of the history of the churching) might be omitted and the considerations of adequacy could be made to rest on a general knowledge of the churches where such knowledge is sufficient as a basis for making judgments. The study of adequacy can not, however, be omitted from the survey; because, as has been indicated in the report, the

analysis of all the different types of problems rests ultimately upon the considerations of adequacy.

In a study of a smaller city that still maintains, in the main, a homogeneous character, the districting of the area can be omitted and the zones of development, which will be found to be essentially present in all cities, can be used as the districts throughout the whole study.

This analysis of comity, if it is of any value at all, shows that while comity problems are complicated they can be solved when they are understood as the result of a scientific analysis. Better churching in any city can certainly be obtained through such a survey carried out as an actual coöperative enterprise.

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